



# The Leader.

"The one Idea which History exhibits as evermore developing itself into greater distinctness is the Idea of Humanity—the noble endeavour to throw down all the barriers erected between men by prejudice and one-sided views; and by setting aside the distinctions of Religion, Country, and Colour, to treat the whole Human race as one brotherhood, having one great object—the free development of our spiritual nature."—*Humboldt's Cosmos.*

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VOL. VI. No. 272.]

SATURDAY, JUNE 9, 1855.

[PRICE SIXPENCE.]

## News of the Week.

**NEGOTIATIONS** with Russia, under the mediation of Austria, closed at Vienna on Monday last. The last of the Conferences was held on that day; a new proposal was made by Austria; the Russian Plenipotentiary asked permission to refer it to St. Petersburg; the Western Plenipotentiaries declared that they had no instructions to countenance such a reference; Count Broz pronounced the further holding of the Conferences to be useless, and they were formally closed. Down to the latest moment, therefore, the relative position of the Powers appears to have been the same; the Western Powers adhering to the position taken up on the 23rd of April; the Russians still trying to gain time by a reference to St. Petersburg, the nature of which we well know; and Austria proposing peace, but confessing the uselessness of the proposal. The grand fact, however, is, that the Conferences are closed, and that we are released from the hindrance and distractions of the futile attempts to conclude peace with Russia.

But we are not released from the futile discussions on the subject in Parliament. The fact was announced to the House of Commons on Monday; it was more formally repeated on the Tuesday, nevertheless on both nights the discussion upon the several motions; the House still consulting with itself whether it should, with Sir FRANCIS BAEING, express regret that the negotiation had not been successful; with Mr. LOWE, indignation that they had failed through the refusal of Russia; and with Sir WILLIAM HEATHCOTE, a hope that they might still succeed. For two nights the House discussed these questions; listening to speeches which had about as much relation to the resolution as they had to the actual position. For instance, Sir JAMES GRAHAM followed the lead of Mr. GLADSTONE, and ranged himself with the party whose resolution Sir WILLIAM HEATHCOTE moved, expressing a hope of obtaining peace—through the negotiations now closed. But Sir JAMES's argument went entirely to reconcile his present position with his having commenced the war; it turned principally on the view that Russia had been chastised enough, and that it was not necessary to humiliate her further. This argument, it will be seen, very little supported Sir WILLIAM HEATHCOTE's amendment; since Russia is neither humble nor willing to

make terms. The most striking speech on that side was Mr. CORDEN's. He devoted all his skill to making up a statement, and to collecting recent facts; all his power of language to presenting those facts in a popular and facile exposition; in setting forth a formidable array of difficulties in the course taken by Government. Prussia is jealous, because she fears France upon the Rhine; Austria is insincere, because she dreads to have the nationalities take advantage of any difference between her and Russia; Turkey is a miserable Government, unimproving, impotent to maintain her own rights, while the preponderance of Russia is inherent in the nature of things, because her trade on the Black Sea has increased, is increasing, and ought not to be diminished.

Mr. CORDEN accuses Government of vacillation, and of having submitted to the dictates of the populace and the press; but by deprecating the attacks upon his party for assuming an impracticable humanitarian position, he implied that he was no absolute peace man; and he promises that if Russia should invade Portsmouth, he would not discuss what ought to be done, but would work, "if not in the field, in the hospital."—"The right man in the right place." This was unquestionably the strongest speech on that side; but it was open to obvious replies, such as the remark that the preponderance might be very well as long as it was only commercial; and that even in commerce Russia was always gigantically one-sided, while Turkey is a free-trader, and has by no means been so absolutely unimproving as Mr. CORDEN pretended. Turkey kept the mouth of the Danube free when it was in her possession; it was Russia that let the mud accumulate. Mr. BRIGHT sounded a parallel of Mr. CORDEN in trumpet tones—a strong utterance of a weak policy; Mr. SIDNEY HERBERT a less sectarian version of Mr. GLADSTONE's appeal to Christian feeling against keeping up the war or humiliating Russia. Sir JAMES GRAHAM was open to a still graver retort of contrasting his present tame and feeble speech with his stout language about the "glorious British flag" at the Reform Banquet. It is to be noted that there is a decided though small Peace Party on the Tory side, which found mouthpieces in Lord STANLEY and Lord ROBERT CECEL.

The common sense of the House, however, found voice in several speakers, who showed that, apart from formal questions respecting the mismanagement of the war and the claims of Turkey, this country had at all events committed herself

to a contest out of which she could not retreat until its objects were attained. The members supporting this view were not only the Ministers Sir WILLIAM MOLESWORTH, Lord JOHN RUSSELL, and Lord PALMERSTON, but the independent ROEBUCK, the strange literary romantic Tory Sir EDWARD LYTTON, and the Peelite Lord ELCHO, with several independent members.

The Government has now got credit for vigorous determination to carry on the war, and it will probably be all the more willing, at the next opportunity, to accept terms of peace, which, while it was suspected of cowardice, it would have been compelled to refuse.

Toward the close of Tuesday evening, it was discovered that some news had arrived from Vienna, which rendered the amendments rather out of date; and the House adjourned till Wednesday to think about it, not however with much profit, for on Wednesday the debate continued as we have described it.

The whole course of the debates had been rendered more irrelevant by the further news from the Euxine, where the successes in the Sea of Azof have been followed up with vigour. More Russian ships and stores were destroyed at Genitchi; and Soudjak-Kaleh was taken and restored to the Circassians. Detailed reports threw further light upon the engagements of the 22nd and 23rd, and proved that the advantage, strongly contested by the Russians, was very important, while the telegraph announced that the bombardment of Sebastopol recommenced on the 6th inst. The suddenness of the series of attacks, the immediate surrender or flight of the Russians at the seaports, the fact that Kertch was the depot for hospital patients from Sebastopol, the repeated petition of the Russian commander to bury the dead after the engagement of the 23rd, are amongst the evidences that these blows have cut deep.

Nevertheless, we have not the slightest sign that the CZAR, whose person the sword does not reach, relaxes either in his obstinacy or in his exertion. New requisitions are made for men and stores; the Plenipotentiaries, as we have seen, persevered to the last moment of the Conferences in evasive attempts to obtain time; and a "Memoir," apparently a kind of non-official postscript to the note of Count NESSELRODE, has been circulated in Germany. Its direct object is to represent the Allies as contemplating some subversive movement in Europe, and France as intending to

make a profit out of the revolution by seizing the Rhine, or some other coveted acquisition. It is evident that in taking this step through its agents, the Russian Government intends to carry on the war by intrigue as well as arms, with not less malignity than ever. To pretend, therefore, that the objects of the contest have been gained, is a quibble that can scarcely deceive the man who uses it—certainly not the bulk of the English people.

The Cambridge Bill has passed through Committee. The constitution is somewhat liberalised; but the noxious and absurd system of sectional election is still retained, to the detriment not only of the University at large, but, in reality, of those very interests which it is supposed to protect. The admission of Dissenters to the M.A. degree, though without the power of voting in the Senate, was carried against a pretty strong opposition. The Lords improve. The Bishop of Oxford said with truth that a similar advance of the wedge must follow at Oxford. The poor Thirty-nine Articles have an anxious life of it in these days.

The Spoonerites celebrated a Maynooth orgie on Wednesday, well compared by Mr. KEOGH to the theological controversies which raged within the walls of Constantinople while the Turk battered them without. Mr. KEOGH made rather a happy hit by pointing to the self-revelations of Protestant immorality in the Reports of the University Commission: but Protestant immorality has the advantage in the very fact of its being self-revealed. There is probably a majority in the House pledged to the abolition of Maynooth. But many of these gentlemen are by no means anxious to redeem their pledges, and with their connivance the subject drags on interminably. To talk to Mr. SPOONER of the danger of disgusting the Irish when we need them as soldiers, is to talk of consequences to a being who does not acknowledge them.

There is one bouleversement in certain places that rather inverts our ordinary ideas of ecclesiastical affairs. In Roman Catholic Sardinia, the Royal assent has just been given to the bill which suppresses several convents, and brings those that remain under the control of the civil law. A remarkable change is noticed in the pro-clerical press, which vilified the promoters of this law while it was passing, but now assumes an air of courtesy, and substitutes sarcasm for calumny. Evidently the clerical party feel that the reform was too strong for them. While Sardinia is making a loyal, moderate, and practical attempt to subordinate the clerical to the civil authority, certain ultra-Protestants in the House of Commons are indulging in a weekly debate for the revocation of the grant to Maynooth College—a tedious tribute to bigotry, which might succeed; for the House of Commons will often, in a moment of heedlessness, give to pertinacity what it refuses to conviction. While these two movements are going on,—the practical and wise measure in Sardinia, and the ultra-Protestant reaction in Ireland,—the Bishop of London is visiting the church of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, in order to "inspect the floral decorations," of which he approves. Thus the flower of beauty becomes an emblem of discord, and British episcopacy exhibits itself in the attitude of admiringly inspecting and judiciously approving the ball-room decorations of a half-amateur chapel.

The Bath election is one of the first positive steps gained by the Administrative Reformers. The two candidates were Mr. TITE, the City Architect, and Mr. WHATELEY, the Queen's Counsel; neither of them men having claims upon the citizens of Bath. Mr. TITE, however, was an Administrative Reformer thoroughgoing; Mr. WHATELEY was a pretended Administrative Reformer, who took up the City for the nonce. TITE, "a rough diamond," as one of his earnest supporters apologetically describes him, is elected, and is the first Administrative Reformer who enters the House in the same week that witnesses the measures carried out for the organisation of the War Department, somewhat questionably illustrated by a batch of family appointments.

The LORD MAYOR continues to go about Paris in such a demonstrative fashion as to lead the natives to suspect his sanity. On Wednesday afternoon he was on the Boulevards with six footmen hanging behind his coach, full robes, and the sword-bearer in the fur cap. Bets were offered freely at the Café de Paris that it was a new Turkish ambassador.

The Law Courts this week—high and low—present some curious instances of evasion. The Electric Telegraph Company has been convicted at Salford of a liability to pay poor-rates; which it declined to do, because the company does not "occupy" the land. The plea falls on both grounds of argument and fact. The essential is, not the occupation of the land, but the possession of means; the occupation of the land being simply taken as a test of the means. Every corporation is bound to contribute towards maintaining the poor of the land; and if the Electric Telegraph Company had evaded, it would have been only by a quibble; but the plea was absurd, in fact. The wires do not float in air, sustained not by posts, but zephyrs, and untermained by stations. If the company had pleaded that it was bound to pay very little rates, because, as it were, it lodges upon stilts throughout the United Kingdom,—like a peasant of the French Landes resting,—the plea would have been more reasonable. But even the stilts, in the aggregate, must occupy enough of ground to make a very good basis for rating.

The case of MONICH PETER CHRISTIAN at the Lambeth Police-court is filled with many a moral. MONICH played the fashionable gallant; he procured the means of seeming as if he were a man rich and open-handed; and because he was well-dressed, handsome, fluent, and adorned, everybody whom he addressed, landlord or landlady, was prepared to trust him—though he had nothing really to deposit as property, but a box of firewood. There was tact even in the selection of that material, a lower rascal would have chosen for his luggage stones with a superficial weightiness; but CHRISTIAN knew how to impart an air of verisimilitude to the fiction.

The facts of the week, however, are fertile in sarcastic antitheses done in action: LORD DERBY, who never wins the Derby, has this year ominously won, O! PALMERSTON, the Windsor Castle Stakes, with "Professor!"

The Fêtes at Sydenham have brought the glories of Versailles and St. Cloud within an easy drive of the artisans of London. All the wonders and luxuries of all civilisations, harmoniously grouped within the gleaming walls, the stately terraces guarded by eternal Sphinxes, flushed with parterres of flowers, smiled upon by the immortal serenity of sculpture, the lavish disposition of the spacious gardens, the sudden glories of the arching waters,—surely here are imperial splendours democratised by our much-abused utilitarian century! On Saturday and on Monday last the twenty and thirty thousand ticket-holders testified gladly to the triumph of that enterprise which made even the Caracalla of France ashamed of his own "public works." The universal murmur of delight ratified the success. Politics and business were cast off for a moment by the sterner sex: the coquetry of the toilettes rivalled the very azaleas in colour and caprice, and lent to all the accompaniments of sight and sound a certain atmosphere of fascination. The clouds that hung over the fate of the Palace during the long and dreary winter are, we trust, finally dispersed. May the sunshine be perpetual!

The Concert on Monday, however, had one serious defect. Only the highest notes of the highest soprano voice could be heard by two-thirds of an immense audience in that enormous salle. At an easy distance from the platform Signor BOTTESINI's miraculous discoursing on his gigantic baritone appeared like the antics and contortions of a devil-worshipper possessed. Surely this may be corrected by a slight attention to the science of acoustics; indeed, we hear that the accomplished and ingenious Mr. ELLA has demonstrated satisfactorily that even the basest of voices may be enabled to penetrate to the remotest spaces, if only properly placed.

On Saturday the triumph of triumphs was for OWEN JONES, who by his marvellous reproduction of the Hall of the Abencerrages in the Alhambra, has raised a new Eastern Question, and taught Cockneys the divine despair of reclining with Oriental abandonment.

## IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE two Houses met again on Monday after the Whitsuntide recess. In the Lords, but little business was done; in the Commons, "honourable members" were occupied almost solely by the adjourned debate on the conduct of the war.

### TRANSPORT SERVICE—THE MEDWAY.

THE EARL OF ELLENBOROUGH made some remarks as to the manner in which sixty-five horses were lost on board the Medway on her way to Balaklava. The horses were crowded on deck; and a gentleman who went over the ship before she sailed anticipated the loss which had in fact ensued. It appeared that these horses were placed under sheds, and that the horses themselves were in slings, which slings could only be unfastened by a man lying along on their backs. The weather came on to be extremely severe; the shed gave way bodily, and slid over on one side; and the deck was covered with horses, dead, dying, and kicking; so that if anything had gone wrong with the machinery of the vessel at that time, she must have been lost.—LORD PASNUR said the loss of the horses was entirely owing to the hurricane which the vessel met with; in support of which assertion he read a letter from Admiral Greig at Gibraltar. It was found necessary to place the horses on deck, because they were required in great numbers, and every means of sending them out was therefore made available.

### ABSENCE OF THE SPEAKER.

A curious specimen of our Parliamentary conventionalities was given on the announcement by LORD PALMERSTON that Mr. Speaker, owing to his having sprained himself, would be unable to attend for a few days. The Premier, under these circumstances, moved a resolution providing "that, in the event of Mr. Speaker's absence continuing for more than this day, Mr. Fitzroy take the chair in like manner as on this day on each subsequent day during Mr. Speaker's absence." Hereupon, LORD R. CHURCHILL rose and said there had been no prayers that day; to which, apparently, he only objected on the ground that the omission would prevent members from securing their seats through the evening, that being always done before prayers. At this there was loud laughter.—MR. FITZROY explained that there had been no prayers that evening because, in the absence of the Speaker, "there was no one to call the chaplain in." And again the jocund House roared with merriment.—SIR FREDERICK THESIGER suggested the omission of the words "in like manner;" otherwise, there would be no prayers in the House until Mr. Speaker returned. This was a prospect so irresistibly comical, that once more the laughter burst forth. "Then we'll omit the words," replied LORD PALMERSTON; and with this amendment, and a further alteration limiting the new arrangement to a week, the resolution was agreed to and the merriment in connexion with honourable members' religious devotions subsided.

### THE BLOCKADE OF THE BALTIC PORTS.

IN ANSWER to an inquiry by MR. J. G. PHILLIMORE, SIR CHARLES WOOD stated that there was not the slightest foundation for the construction put by the Russian Government in its circular upon the notice issued by order of Captain Watson, and that the officer employed by him had carried out the instructions of her Majesty's Government in the most accurate manner, totally at variance with the statements of the Russian Government. The principle of the neutral flag protecting the cargo had been fully carried out. Captain Watson had been requested by the civil governor of Port Baltic to allow four Russian vessels to proceed to Riga, and had answered that they were free to go, as far as he was concerned, but that he could not say whether the Commander-in-Chief of the Fleet, who was coming up the Baltic, might not interfere with them.—A statement to the same general effect was made in the House of Lords by EARLS GRANVILLE and HARROWBY, in answer to questions from the EARL of ALBEMARLE.

### PROSECUTION OF THE WAR—ADJOURNED DEBATE.

THE debate was resumed by the consideration of SIR FRANCIS BARING's amendment of MR. DISRAELI's motion. This amendment now stood as a substantive motion, to which an amendment was to be proposed by MR. LOWE.

MR. MILNER GIBSON opened the debate by objecting to the amendment of MR. LOWE, as well as to that of SIR FRANCIS BARING; the latter of which he considered feeble, while the former would pledge the House to very grave considerations. The justice and good policy of entering into the war at all were exceedingly questionable; but the country seemed to act on the principle that Turkey could do no wrong. MR. GIBSON then went over the old charges against the press of having fomented the war; and remarked that LORD PALMERSTON, in engaging MR. WILKIE to write and publish, at the expense of the nation, articles in the continental and American journals, the object of which was to show that the policy of the English government was essentially pacific, had done more towards encouraging the hostile designs



of the late Emperor of Russia than the speeches of Messrs. Bright and Cobden could have effected. As to the ideas that had been spread abroad with respect to Russia descending upon the whole of Europe, and sweeping away liberty and civilisation, these were mere hobgoblins. Russia had never encroached upon the West, except at the direct invitation of the Western Powers. The way in which Lord Palmerston had held out indirect hopes to the unhappy Poles, when he knew that this country would never support him in a war of nationalities, was unjustifiable, and might jeopardise our friendly relations with other European powers. If we attempted the reconstruction of Poland, we should find, to quote the words of an eminent Pole, that such a result is "about as probable as the reform of the Koran, or the reinvigoration of the Turks," and that "both will be accomplished about the same time." As regards the question of "taking care of Turkey," Russia had not refused to bind herself by moral guarantees to respect the territory and independence of the Sublime Porte. But our insisting that Russia should limit her naval power in the Black Sea was both puerile and unjust, and a thing hitherto quite unheard of. The Russian proposal to open the straits to the ships of all nations was, in his opinion better than our plans, and offered to Turkey the best security. The policy of a *mare clausum* would furnish no basis of a lasting peace. The threatened aggression upon Turkey had been arrested, and the war should therefore be brought to a close; for otherwise we might enter into a contest which would only terminate with exhaustion.

Sir WILLIAM MOLESWORTH assumed the gist of the question contained in the several amendments to lie in the consideration whether or not we ought to have made peace upon the Russian suggestions with regard to the Third Point. Now, in connexion with this point, Russia had resorted to every kind of diplomatic artifice; and to accept her proposals would be to abandon the main object of the war, and to sanction that very menace to Turkey which we have engaged to destroy. The first Russian proposal would compel the Allies to run a never-ending race of war establishments and war expenditure with Russia in the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. Russia would increase her fleet, and then we should be obliged to increase ours; and a collision would be certain to ensue. As to the second Russian proposal, France and England, to afford any protection to Turkey, would be morally bound to maintain in the Mediterranean fleets always ready to obey the summons of Turkey, and to cope with the fleet of Russia in the Black Sea. Either proposition, therefore, would entail upon us the burdens of continual war. Russia has already made concessions which have only been extorted from her by fear; and our late successes in the Sea of Azof, together with our command of the Baltic and the Euxine, ought to induce us to persevere in our demands until they are fully complied with by Russia.

"Let the history of the campaign of 1829, and its conclusion, as recorded by Moltke, be a warning to us not to allow Europe to be again tricked by Russian artifices into a fatal compromise like that by which Russia was saved at that period from a complete and ignominious defeat, and the Sultan of Turkey was compelled to sign a disastrous peace. Let not a future historian record that the statesmen of England, on the eve of a great success, consented to an ignominious and dangerous peace. The acceptance of these Russian terms would, in his opinion, be dangerous even to ourselves, for it would be a confession of defeat on the part of England and France, by which Russia would be elevated into a prominence menacing to all Europe and Asia. It would embolden her to fresh aggressions, and teach her to despise the remonstrances and threats of the Western Powers. Such a peace would make Austria less disposed to be our adherent, Prussia more detached from us, and all the petty principalities of Germany more servile to our foe. It would lessen the military reputation both of France and England, would put to shame the efforts of their brave armies, and excite the murmurs and recriminations of commanders and officers both in the army and navy. Such a peace would weaken the alliance between France and England, and perhaps make it necessary for them to seek ere long some new battle-field on which to regain the honour they would have lost. Such a recent peace would be dangerous to ourselves, he repeated. It would shake the foundations of our Indian empire, which were laid on the opinion of our invincible might amongst a fickle and various people, newly moved from the extreme of submission to the extreme of audacity; and that Indian empire of ours is ever watched by our bitter and irreconcilable foes, who are looking on at this contest, and ready, if the English power should prove less formidable than it has formerly appeared, to attack us on the Indian frontier. Such a peace would, all over the world, afflict every man of British descent with a sense of disgrace, and make the colonies of Great Britain ashamed of the mother-country's humiliation; it would convert those feelings of affection which they manifested at the commencement of this struggle into sentiments of dissatisfaction throughout our colonial dominions."

Mr. JOHN MCGREGOR commented upon the ag-

gressive policy of Russia, regarding the limitation of the Russian ships in the Black Sea as totally insufficient to the end proposed, and held that the Euxine should be declared open to the ships of all nations, and that Russia should be forced in the end to pay the whole expenses of the war.—Mr. G. H. VANNON thought the proposals of Russia offered a basis for satisfactory adjustment, and that our proposition was not justifiable; while Lord DUNGEON contended that we ought not to recede from our high position, but that hostilities should be carried on vigorously.—Mr. HENRY BAILLIE condemned the mismanagement of the Government with regard to military matters. We had only been able to furnish an army of 40,000 men fit for taking the field: any secondary German power could have done as much in less time. And in doing this, England has been denuded of troops to such an extent that there are not as many as four regiments of the line remaining in the United Kingdom. We have also been left without reserves; and, unless the bounty and pay of soldiers be increased (at present, the wages are just half those of a common labourer), we shall find the greatest difficulty in recruiting. Mr. BAILLIE was also of opinion that the Government ought to have availed itself of the resources of our Indian army, and to have roused Circassia.—Mr. MONCKTON MILNES hoped that, as the Conference have terminated, Austria would cease to occupy the position of mediator, and England and France would be left to decide the quarrel upon principles that may secure the goodwill of Europe. He thought that we should have pursued a wiser course had we confined our operations to the ocean; and he believed that the exclusion of all ships of war from the Black Sea, except for purposes of police, would afford the best solution of the difficulty. That sea should be thrown open to commercial vessels, but shut against the armaments of every flag.—Sir EDWARD DRAKE condemned the proposal made to Russia for limiting her naval force in the Euxine; but, at the same time, thought that the two suggestions of Russia were open to great objections. He desired more effectual guarantees than those already demanded. The preponderance of Russia in the Black Sea does not depend altogether upon her navy, but upon an undue share of the shores of that sea, especially Anapa, and that part of the Eastern coast of the Euxine which has been acquired by Russia in violation of the treaty of Bucharest. If the river Kuban could be made the boundary of Russia in that direction, we should obtain all that we can expect.—Lord ELCHO, conceiving that the object of the war has not been attained, would not be satisfied with anything less than the limitation of the Russian power in the Black Sea.

Lord CLAUD HAMILTON made a vehement pro-Russian speech; contending that in 1832 the late Emperor might have seized Constantinople if he had so desired, but that instead he sent his fleet and army to protect the Sultan from the victorious troops of Ibrahim Pacha. In the negotiations which preceded the present war, it was Turkey which refused to accept the Vienna note; and this was before the Russian interpretation of that note, which was said to have changed its character. That refusal on the part of Turkey led to the present war. The heaviest blows which the Porte has received of late years have not come from Russia, but from France and England. The destruction of her fleet at Navarino was more the act of France and England than of Russia; so was the separation of Greece, which deprived Turkey of all her able seamen, and reduced her fleet to its present state. When her power in Syria was threatened with destruction, it was Russia that came to her aid. The recent negotiations had been entered into by the Government without any sincere desire to arrive at a successful issue. It was impossible to suppose that Russia would consent to an arrangement under which she would be restricted to four ships, while the Allies might sail round her coasts with ten. The blame of breaking off the negotiations rests elsewhere than with Russia; and, as he never could reconcile his conscience to taking part in the war, he could not rest satisfied with giving a silent vote.

Sir BULWER LYTTON, in reply to Mr. Gibson, said that the continuance of the war was necessary to the honour of England, and that, if the honour of such a country as this were lowered or disregarded, our material interests themselves would in the end be vitally injured. Commenting upon the course taken by Mr. Gladstone, he observed that that gentleman had been a party to the expedition to the Crimea, and was therefore responsible for all its logical consequences. Mr. Gladstone had complained that the terms of peace had been unwisely extended; but to whom was that owing? Why, to Lord Aberdeen, who said that the conditions of peace must vary with the fortunes of war. The right honourable gentleman, moreover, seemed to have forgotten our ally in thus proposing to creep out of the quarrel, though he was very mindful of that ally when opposing inquiry into the mismanagement of the war. Russia, said Mr. Gladstone, had moderated her own terms; but how was this change

effected? It was effected by the sword—by the fields of Alma and Inkerman. Sir Bulwer Lytton then exhibited, by means of arguments similar to those of Sir William Molesworth, the futility of the terms proposed by Russia; and, passing to a consideration of the several motions and amendments before the House, gave his undivided approval to the original resolution. This had not changed the Government, but it had changed their tone. With respect to Austria, he thought they should maintain friendly relations with her as long as she remains neutral. It is easy to say that she might be reduced to a fourth-rate power; but her answer would be that she is as necessary as a counterpoise to France as Turkey is necessary as a counterpoise to Russia. Still, our attitude towards Austria had been much too suppliant; but, on the other hand, we ought not to raise fallacious hopes among the nationalities and democracies of Europe.

"The noble lord the member for Lynn had said that there was nothing so impolitic as humiliating a foe when you could not crush him, quoting Machiavelli in support of his proposition. He warned his noble friend against the attempt to reduce the grand science of statesmanship to scholastic maxims. We could not, it was true, crush Russia as Russia; but we could crush her attempt to be anything more than Russia. It might be said that William of Orange could not have crushed Louis the Fourteenth, or that the burghers of the Netherlands could not crush the house of Austria; but William of Orange did crush Louis in aggressive action upon Holland, and the burghers resisted successfully the house of Austria. In the same way, his noble friend might depend upon it, we could crush Russia in her attempts to injure our ancient ally. The right hon. gentleman the member for Manchester had asked when, if the policy indicated was followed out, would the war end? He (Sir Bulwer Lytton) believed that if we were only in earnest in carrying it on, and limited it to its legitimate objects, it could not last long. In these days war was money, and it was impossible for any power to sustain a long war with a short purse. The pecuniary resources of Russia were already becoming exhausted; her trade was almost annihilated, while her recruiting system was being carried on in a way which, besides draining the country of its adult male population, inflicted a heavy loss upon the lords of the soil and incalculable misery and discontent upon the people."

The LORD-ADVOCATE agreed with the sentiments uttered by Sir Bulwer Lytton, and said that, looking to the tone of the debate, he did not think any doubt could exist as to what is the opinion of the country on the subject of the war.

On the motion of Mr. COBDEN, the debate was adjourned; and, after a little routine business, the House rose.

The discussion was reopened the following night by Mr. COBDEN, who commenced by vindicating himself and those who think with him from the imputations cast upon them by the majority. In the same way that they were now charged with being the tools of Russia, Burke in former times had been denounced as an American, Chatham lay under similar opprobrium, and Fox was held up as a mere hireling in the pay of France. Honourable gentlemen, therefore, who have no facts or imagination of their own on which to base their arguments, should be ashamed to reproduce absurd and calumnious partisan accusations of that kind in such a debate.

"I will deal with this question (said Mr. COBDEN) as a politician, strictly on the principles of policy and expediency; and I am prepared to assume that wars may be inevitable and necessary, although I do not admit that all wars are so. We, therefore, who took exception to the commencement of this war on grounds of policy, are not to be classed by individual members of this House with those who are necessarily opposed to all wars whatever. That is but a device to represent a section of this House as advocates of notions so utopian that they must be entirely shut out of the arena of modern politics, and their arguments be systematically denied that fair hearing to which all shades of opinion are entitled, no matter from what quarter they may emanate. I say, that we have all one common object in view—we all seek the interest of our country; and the only basis on which this debate should be conducted is that of the honest and just interests of England."

The interests of England are the only questions in which the House of Commons can concern itself, and members ought therefore to cast from them all the declamatory balderdash they have lately heard from the Treasury bench as to our fighting for the liberty of the entire world. "You don't seriously mean," observed Mr. Cobden, "to fight for anything of the kind." The opinions of Sir William Molesworth, as expressed on the previous evening, were at direct variance with all the previous declarations of that gentleman, who, when we were in danger of going to war with France on the Syrian business, made a speech in the streets of Leeds against our involving ourselves in hostilities for the protection of Turks, Syrians, Egyptians, Greeks, or anybody else. The question before the House was, whether the difference between our plan and the Russian plan was such as to justify us in continuing the war. He

thought it was not. He had been told by a nautical man that the Russians might obtain from America four first class line-of-battle steam ships (the number which she would be allowed to retain), carrying 130 guns each, and fitted with screws, four frigates of 70 or 80 heavy guns, and also fitted with screws, and a proportionate force of smaller screw-vessels, which would constitute a far more formidable Black Sea navy than Russia has ever possessed. Sir William Molesworth had said that if Russia were admitted to the Mediterranean, we should have to keep up an enormous and expensive peace establishment to watch Russia; but at the same time he talked of a six years' war. Now, how long would the interest of the money you would have to pay for that six years' war keep up your fleet to the establishment necessary for watching Russia? As to our having no security for Russia abiding by her engagements, we have the security of her interest. We who talk of the shamelessness and vile character of Russia have made ourselves a party to a treaty by which we are bound to league ourselves with France, Austria, Prussia, Turkey, and Russia, in taking the government of Wallachia and Moldavia into our own hands, and setting aside the will of the people in their own affairs.

"The name of John Russell stands at the foot of these protocols as a party in preventing the inhabitants of those countries from meddling with their own local matters, if in the opinion of the powers it should be considered dangerous to the tranquillity of their own country. Mark, how changed is the child and champion of revolution when he breathes the air of Vienna!" (*Lord cheers.*)

We were told that this war was to raise oppressed nationalities; but, in his opinion, it would only have the effect of depressing them further. Again, Lord John Russell talked of Russia establishing large fortifications on the German frontier and in the Baltic, and of Russian intrigues with the German courts. Well, which of the Four Points rectifies those evils? There is no guarantee against the rebuilding of Bomarsund—no protection for the Circassians. The Government, moreover, had entirely misapprehended the bias of public opinion in Germany, which is not at all in favour of the Allies, but in favour of Russia. The traditions of Prussia and other German states incline the people to dread France and to look to Russia as their protector; for France at the time of the first Revolution had caused the poorer classes to undergo dreadful sufferings, while Russia had helped them to escape from the rule of Napoleon. If the English people had the conscription, as in Prussia, they would be a little more chary how they called out for war. After the treaties which had confined Russia to her own territories, why not have contented ourselves with sending our fleet to the Black Sea, and refusing to enter upon land operations until the great Powers of Germany were willing and ready to join us, instead of taking upon ourselves to fight the battle of civilisation for the whole world? What are we now fighting for? To reduce, it is said, the preponderance of Russia in the Black Sea. But that preponderance results from her commerce and her vast shipments of produce there, and, so long as these continued, all the powers upon earth cannot take it away. The provinces on the shores of the Black Sea are rich and prosperous, and are increasing in commercial importance with a rapidity quite unparalleled. Is Russia, with such provinces, to be asked to cut herself down to the level of decrepid Turkey? It is whispered that we are fighting more at the wish of France than at our own; but are we sure that we are not going against the wish of the French people?

"What were the wishes of the French Government? He was now entering on delicate ground; but he was about to allude to a subject which he told the noble lord (Palmerston) that he should treat of publicly, believing as he did that it was his duty to speak out on a question which involved great events and might be fraught with calamities to the country. He came to this point—was it the wish of the French Government to go on with the war? or was it the wish of our Government? Mr. Bright and himself had had it communicated to them on good authority that the French Government had stated to ours that they were willing to accept of either of the terms published in the last protocols. He was not talking of the proceedings of a secret conclave. They all knew of what was called a meeting of the supporters of the noble lord in Downing-street. On that occasion, when the noble lord said that they were about to enter on a confidential conversation, and that no representatives of the papers were present, his honourable friend asked if it was true that an intimation had been made by the French Government to ours that they were willing to accept terms different from those offered by M. Drouyn de Lhuys, and that there had been a refusal to accede to them on the part of our Government. The noble lord refused to answer the question, although he was much pressed. He (Mr. Cobden) pressed him to give an answer, and he told the noble lord distinctly that if he would give an answer, and say no, that he could treat all that took place there as confidential, but that if the noble lord allowed him to go out of the room without an an-

swer, looking to the sources of the information he had received, he would not make any secret of what passed on that occasion. This state of things is very serious."

Mr. Cobden then questioned the worth of our late successes in the Sea of Azof, contending that the Russians derive their supplies mainly through the Isthmus of Perekop. He also feared that the heats of July, August, and half of September, would be fatal to the Allied armies; and summed up his charges against the Government by saying that the war has been recommenced upon a point of difference almost infinitely minute; that the invasion of Russia by a land force is an infatuation; that we have attempted too much, and, in obedience to a cry out of doors, have undertaken a task more difficult than any nation has ventured upon before. The Ministry have played falsely and treacherously; and there will be a heavy reckoning for them hereafter, as well as for the aristocracy. He thought, indeed, that the masses had been more to blame than the aristocracy in the disasters of this war, and that they should reform themselves before they talk of reforming others. But, if the people are disappointed in the upshot of the war, they will demand a victim; and no institution in the land will be too high for the reaction which may ensue.

Mr. COLLIER was prepared to support the amendment of Mr. Lowe, and thought that, as the Russian party has now left the cabinet, the element of weakness has been removed.—Lord HARRY VANE regarded the Russian proposals as affording sufficient security.—Sir STRAFFORD NORTHCOTE blamed the Government for insisting upon their interpretation of the Third Point as a *sine qua non*. He therefore could not vote for Mr. Lowe's amendment; which, however, was regarded by Major REED as the best means of carrying out the desire of the people, namely, a vigorous prosecution of the war. A desultory discourse ensued, in which Mr. EWART, Mr. VANSITTART, Mr. FRANCIS SCULLY, Mr. CROSSLEY, and Mr. J. G. PHILLIMORE, took part. The last-named speaker observed that the observations on a previous occasion of Mr. Gladstone left him, in common with Mr. Collier, at no loss to understand how it has happened that our magnificent military preparations have shrunk to miserable defensive operations, and that disaster has followed victory.

Sir JAMES GRAHAM then rose, and, after alluding to the painful feelings of embarrassment and difficulty which he experienced, said that he still held to his first opinion that the war was in the original just and necessary; but it was right to inquire if the objects of the war had been obtained. He wished to know from the Government—first, what was the proposition lately made by Austria which England had rejected; and secondly, whether, in their opinion, the Four Points were still regarded as the basis of any future arrangements with Russia, or whether these points had been abandoned, and fresh terms were to be offered. It is quite true that during a war it is perfectly legitimate to vary the terms of peace; but the object of the war should be kept steadily in view, and should not vary with the incidents of the war. The avowed, and he considered the sole, object of this war was the maintenance of the independence and integrity of Turkey. The force of our arms has extorted great concessions from Russia; but it is not politic to humble an adversary too much. He agreed with the rule laid down by Lord John Russell, when he said that the honour of the adversary should be consulted as well as our own. He (Sir James) was, he acknowledged, a party to the proposition for limiting the Russian power in the Black Sea; but he had never regarded it as an ultimatum, in which light he did not consider it tenable, nor was it accepted by France, nor proposed at Vienna, with that intention. On the other hand, he considered that the second Russian proposition contained the elements of an adjustment. Although not the friend of Russia, he thought that the honour of Russia must be considered—that she must not be pushed to the wall; and, esteeming the restoration of peace one of the greatest blessings that could be conferred upon this country, he deeply regretted that any opportunity should be lost, and entirely disapproved of that mischievous doctrine that we are justified in fighting for mere prestige. The interest of England he believed to be involved in concluding peace now; but he thought that the fall of Turkey in Europe may be anticipated, and that care should be taken that Constantinople do not fall into the hands of Russia.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL, in answer to the remarks of Mr. Cobden, again cursorily glanced over the proceedings of the Conference, maintaining that the Russian proposals would in no way lessen the preponderance of the Czar in the Black Sea. The rejection by Russia of our plans was not a question of honour, but was based on military considerations. It arose out of the belief that the fortunes of war had not been sufficiently adverse. The only mode of causing the cessation of the preponderance of Russia in the Black Sea is by diminishing her naval force there; and, although it had been said that the plan would be ineffectual, he was of a different opinion, because he believed that, if the Russian

Government began building more ships in the Euxine, the suspicions of Europe would be roused. The object of the war is still the protection of Turkey; but the particular mode must depend on the events of the war. He did not share in the opinion that Turkey must necessarily fall from her own feebleness. Even now, by the abortive negotiations, she has been declared one of the powers of Europe, forming part of the general system, and with her independence and integrity plainly recognised. As to the amendments, they were not suited to the altered state of matters. The regular and efficient course would be for the House to address the Crown in favour of a vigorous prosecution of the war.

Upon the motion of Mr. ROXBURGH, the debate was again adjourned, and stood over until Thursday night.

#### EXCISE ACTS.

The House then went into committee upon the Excise Acts, when certain resolutions, moved by the CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, were agreed to, after some discussion. The chief object of these resolutions was to enable the Scotch and Irish distillers to manufacture spirits in bond.

#### THE TURKISH CONTINGENT.

In the House of Lords on Tuesday, Lord PALMERSTON, in reply to Lord ELLENBOROUGH, stated that the delay in organising the Turkish Contingent had arisen from a disinclination to weaken the forces of Omar Pacha, by depriving him of any of his veteran troops. At the same time the Contingent would not be composed entirely of raw levies, because a portion of it would be drawn from old Turkish troops garrisoned in Bulgaria.

#### CLOSE OF THE VIENNA CONFERENCE.

The Earl of CLARENDON, in answer to Lord LYNCHURST, said he had that morning received information from her Majesty's Minister at Vienna that the Conference had on the previous day been summoned by Count Buol, who had then made a proposition to the Russian plenipotentiaries. He believed that the Russian plenipotentiaries—the House must recollect that he spoke merely from a very short account of the matter—had required to know whether they might send the proposal to St. Petersburg. Upon the French and English ministers being consulted, they replied that they had no instructions to agree to such a step. Count Buol then said that having failed in carrying out the engagement which he undertook, namely, to find elements upon which the different parties might endeavour to treat, he considered that there was no further use in the Conference being held. With regard to the question whether the proposal made should be laid before Parliament, he (Lord Clarendon) apprehended that there would be no objection to such a course. As, however, he was not yet quite certain what the proposal was, he should like to defer giving an immediate answer. A parallel statement was made in the House of Commons by Lord PALMERSTON, in answer to Mr. BRIGHT.

#### PARISH CONSTABLES BILL.

On the motion of Mr. DEEDES this bill was withdrawn. He adopted this course because the Home Secretary had intimated that he would oppose the further progress of the measure, and would bring forward a bill of his own with a similar object.

#### NEW MEMBER.

Mr. TITE on Wednesday took the oaths and his seat for Bath. Shortly afterwards, the "new member" got up from his seat with his hat on, with the view of leaving the House, when, amid considerable amusement, he was arrested in his progress by general cries of "Order!" The hon. member soon comprehended the reason of the strange salute he was receiving upon his initiation, and stopped the unwelcome exclamations as quickly as he could by "uncovering."

#### MAYNOOTH.

The clauses of the Public Libraries and Museums Bill, and the Public Libraries and Museums (Ireland) Bill, having been considered in committee, the debate on Maynooth, which has stood adjourned from the 1st of May, was resumed by Mr. Sergeant O'BRIEN, who denounced the proposal for rescinding the grant, and quoted the evidence taken before the commissioners to show that the charges of disloyalty brought against the teaching of the college are false. The conduct of the people of Ireland, he said, is sufficient proof of the loyalty of their teachers. Would Mr. Spooner annul the colonial grants for the support of the Roman Catholic religion?

Mr. WHITESIDE gave a historical sketch of Maynooth with the view of showing that Jesuitism always has prevailed, and still does prevail, in the college, and that some of the books read there contain passages which even the professors admit to be sinful. The policy of the late Sir Robert Peel was to educate at the public expense a loyal and learned parochial clergy, and to extinguish the regular clergy; but the moment the act of 1845 passed, the monastic bodies, and the Jesuits at their head, began to multiply, and had increased to an extent never heard of before in Ireland. There had been a breach of faith;



and Parliament ought to insist upon the law being obeyed. The college should be thoroughly reformed. At present, the canon law taught there is contrary to the common law; all kinds of casuistry are applied for the evasion of oaths; and Professor Murray has laid it down as a rule that a law of the land opposed to "the Church" is invalid.

Mr. KNOX replied to the remarks of Mr. White-side, whom he accused of deserting the report of the commissioners, and resorting for evidence to stale and obsolete sources. The real question was, whether out of the 50,000,000. raised from all classes of the community large sums should be devoted to the education of Protestants and Presbyterians, but that a grant to six millions of Roman Catholics in Ireland should be stigmatised as a national sin. Mr. Keogh defended Professor Murray from the attacks of Mr. White-side, whose ill-will he attributed to personal feelings, the Professor in one of his books having called Mr. White-side "a parliamentary wind-bag." In common with Mr. O'Brien, he cited passages disproving the suspicions which are entertained against the teaching at Maynooth. The commission which had issued recommended certain reforms; but Mr. Spooner would not be content with reform, but would annul the institution altogether. The grant to the Catholics was to be taken away; but nothing was to be said of the enormous endowments of the Established church of the Protestant University of Ireland.

Mr. THOMAS CHAMBERS opposed the grant, accused Mr. Keogh of having evaded the question, and affirmed that in the last ten years there have been the most flagrant aggressions upon the constitution by Roman Catholic priests of the ultramontane party in Ireland.—On the motion of Mr. MAGUIRE, the debate was again adjourned.

#### GOLD FINGER RINGS.

Leave was given to introduce a bill for excepting gold finger-rings from the operation of the act of last session relating to the standard of gold and silver wares, and a bill to abolish the offices for assaying and marking wrought plate at York, Exeter, Chester, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

On Thursday, the debate was again renewed, and was grounded this time on the question whether the words "owing to the refusal of Russia to restrict the strength of her navy in the Black Sea," as proposed by Mr. Lowe, should be inserted after the passage in Sir Francis Baring's motion, expressing the regret of the House that the Conference have not led to a termination of hostilities. The first speaker was

Mr. ROEBUCK, who, after begging the indulgence of the House in consideration of his weak state of health, and promising that his remarks would be but brief, commented on the change which had come over the opinions of Sir James Graham since his secession from the present Government. Before that time, he had been one of the most energetic advocates for the strenuous prosecution of hostilities; now, he had become the advocate of peace. What had occurred to cause this change? Has any one object for which we went to war been obtained? Had the power of Russia been crippled? Is Turkey—is Europe—any the safer? Yet Sir James Graham said that the objects of the war are accomplished, and that we might retire with our military honour unimpaired. Why, there is not a tribe in the Eastern deserts who would not say we retired because we could not take Sebastopol. True it is that the Russian armies have retreated beyond the Pruth; but what security have we that within ten days they would not, under such circumstances, be on the Danube again? He did not impute to Sir James Graham that he is a friend of Russia; but he believed that, through a mistake, he had not been the friend of England, and, having made a mistake, his judgment is no longer to be trusted upon this question. It is thought that there is still a discordant element in the Cabinet.

"I say to the noble lord at the head of the Government that it is felt out of doors that there are persons still in his administration who entertain similar opinions upon this question with those who have left it; and the person I allude to more especially is the noble lord the member for London. The reason I say this is, that the noble lord held or acquiesced in language at the conferences of Vienna which was unworthy of any English minister. I say that no English minister—especially the author of reform in parliament—ought to have put his hand to that protocol, the object of which was to take from an independent people the power of self-government. (Cheers.) English interests are the interests of the world—her interests are the interests of civilisation and self-government; but in this case the noble lord sided with the despots of the world, who would crush an independent people and deprive them of the right of managing their own concerns. The House well knows the protocol to which I allude. A minister of England, understanding the interests of England and the part Austria was playing, should have whispered into the ear of Austria three words—I know there are persons in this House who will raise their voice against me when I mention them, but I know also that the time will come when those three words will be the watchwords of

Europe and of good government—the three words I would have whispered in the ear of Austria are, 'Poland, Hungary, Italy.' (Cheers.) It may be said I am now raising the question of nationalities. I take the part of nationalities against despots always; and I firmly believe that Austria, if these three words had been whispered in her ear, would have understood her position, and not have played fast and loose with this country and with France, but would have trembled before the spirit which those three words would have conjured up before her. I am quite aware what I incur by this declaration; but, feeble as I am to express adequately the feelings I entertain, I am yet strong in the conviction that in the three words I have mentioned is the talisman of European safety."

He did not think that Lord Palmerston is of the same wavering disposition as some of his late and present colleagues. On the contrary, he believed that the Premier would always keep before his eyes the interests of England, and would not be tempted by personal considerations to vacillate in his purpose. In carrying on a war which is to maintain the cause of civilisation against barbarism, we must retain firmly by the force of arms what we have gained honestly by the same means. Our object being to cripple Russia, what we take from her we must keep.

"These are significant phrases, and I mean them to be so. (Cheers.) In dealing with Russia as our enemy we are no longer to consider her honour, but to consider mankind as our allies—to consider that we are fighting the battle of mankind, and that in crippling Russia we are benefiting the whole human race." (Loud cheers.)

Mr. SIDNEY HERBERT commenced by defending Sir James Graham from the remarks of Mr. Roebuck, and by denying that the Duke of Newcastle had pledged the country that there should be no peace until Sebastopol was captured or destroyed. In proof of this denial, he quoted the exact words, which, however, though textually different, had substantially the same purport. He then proceeded to remark that errors have arisen, owing to two things essentially distinct having been confounded—namely, the operations of war as a means to an end, and the end itself. It was true he had advocated the going to war with Russia, and that he now was in favour of concluding hostilities; but the difference arose from his believing that the objects of the war have been attained. The original objects were, the abrogation of that network of treaties by which Russia held Turkey in her grasp; the abolition of the exclusive protectorate of the Principalities; and the freedom of the navigation of the Danube. In none of the public documents which set these objects forth is there any mention of "limitation." That is a child of after growth. With respect to the actual progress of hostilities, we have not done justice to our own military successes, or to the extent of the submission Russia has been compelled to endure.

"It has been said that the submissions of Russia are comparatively small, and are the results of victories, and not of negotiations. But the object of negotiations is not to obtain submissions, but to arrange terms based upon the submissions won in the field. With regard to those submissions, Russia has been compelled to evacuate the Principalities; her fortifications on the Circassian coast have been abandoned and destroyed; Bomarsund has been captured; the two seas which had been regarded almost as Russian lakes are blockaded; the provinces where the nobles are Russians, and the people Poles, are, it is understood, in a state of inanition; there is growing discontent amongst the nobility, who have been accustomed to seek abroad those pleasures they cannot find at home; and lastly, there is the inability of Russia—the strongest military power in Europe—to expel from its shores two hostile armies encamped upon its soil. There is also the fact that the fleet of Russia is unable to have the protection of its forts; and there is likewise the recent reverses at Kertch and in the Sea of Azof."

In reply to Mr. Collier's assertions that the bombardment of Odessa and the attack upon Kertch had been delayed owing to the influence of himself (Mr. Herbert) and his colleagues Sir James Graham and Mr. Gladstone, he read despatches from the Admiralty, of the date of last October and December, showing that orders were then given for the prosecution of those operations. But Admiral Dundas had not attacked Odessa, and for this reason—that both the English and French generals were of opinion that the destruction of that place would liberate a large body of troops, who would go to swell the army in the Crimea. Many persons said, "Why did not Admiral Lyons capture the straits of Kertch before?" The reply of Sir James Graham to this was, that Russian vessels were sunk in that passage. People now say, there were no vessels there. But Sir Edmund Lyons, in his despatch received the previous night, informed us that vessels had been sunk there, but had been carried away by the current during the winter months. As regards the negotiations, he did not know how the question of limitation arose, nor who

made it a *sine quid non*. In looking through the papers, he did not find that France or Austria so regarded it; and he believed that interpretation of the Third Point to be now quite defunct, and to have scarcely a friend in that House. He thought that the Russian proposal of opening the Dardanelles was the best. Had there been at the commencement of the difficulties two fleets belonging to France and England in the Black Sea, the war might have been prevented. As regards Mr. Roebuck's proposal to whisper the words "Poland, Hungary, Italy," in the ear of Austria, we must recollect that, with respect to the last nation, we must also whisper its name in the ear of an Italian power which is supported by our ally. France, he believed, was nearer making peace than we. The French people have no great interest in the war; and it is strongly suspected that the Emperor would have accepted the late terms had he not been influenced by England. Turkey is, moreover, endangered by the war. Mr. Herbert then read an extract from a letter of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, written in the autumn of 1853, in which it is urged that Turkey should accept the terms then offered, as the continuance of hostilities would be most injurious to her; also a portion of a despatch of Lord Clarendon of about the same date, to the effect that "even if the aggression of Russia was effectually repelled by a war, Turkey in the meanwhile would be ruined, and it would be found impossible to restore to her her integrity, and to maintain her independent." Turkey is beginning to be jealous of her allies, and to think that the country is suffering more from their presence than it could suffer from the Russians. Having thus stated what he conceived to be the difficulties and dangers of our present situation, he left the subject to the consideration of the House.

Mr. DRUMMOND thought that the war had arisen out of a false conception of the character of Russia, and a hatred of her, which had been fomented for many years, and which the Government by various unworthy means had done its best to increase. Mr. Cobden had always held the power of Russia cheap. We talk of the war being undertaken in the interests of civilisation; but it is an abuse of terms to speak of civilisation in connexion with Turkey.—Mr. Serjeant SHEE spoke in favour of the Russian proposition for opening the Straits. Not having accepted that proposition, there is no alternative but to continue the war until the power of Russia is utterly destroyed. But, supposing that destruction to be effected, the Greek subjects of the Porte would be left without protection. He trusted the House would not pass any resolution declaring that all chance of negotiation had failed.—Mr. ALCOCK thought the failure of the negotiations owing to our not having taken Sebastopol. We ought to have taken Anapa; and our diplomatic relations with Persia had been faulty.—Sir HENRY WILLOUGHBY should vote for the amendment of Sir Francis Baring, without the alteration proposed by Mr. Lowe.—Sir WILLIAM CLAY approved of the course pursued by Government.—Lord ROBERT CECIL held that the making of the proposal of limitation an *ultimatum* was highly insulting to Russia; and, besides that, it was utterly futile, since there could be no security for her keeping to the agreement had she made it.

Mr. BRIGHT, in a speech of great length, opposed the whole tendency and spirit of the war, and prophesied great disasters as the consequence of our persisting in hostilities. There had been from the first a great deal of obscurity as to the objects of the struggle. Lord John Russell talked of the liberties and civilisation of Europe; but Poland and Hungary had been quite thrown overboard, and no doubt Italy would be before long. He had also said, "Be it always remembered that we are seeking no object of our own." It seemed strange to him (Mr. Bright) that we should go to war for objects of somebody else. Then, again, it was the general system of Europe for which we are fighting. The whole thing, in fact, always resolves itself into some general mystification. As to the proposal made by Lord John Russell at the Conference, it was not a legitimate development of the Third Point, since, instead of merely reducing the power of Russia in the Black Sea, it would transfer the supremacy in that sea from Russia to the Allies; and it must be acknowledged that Russia has the best right to rule in that locality. By this proposal, England, France, and Turkey were to have twenty ships in all, and Russia was to have only four. Besides this, Turkey might have any fleet it pleased in the Bosphorus, and the Allies might have what ships they chose in the Mediterranean. The first Russian proposition was for the throwing open of the Straits; and it would be for the true interest of Europe if that were done. The preponderance of Russia, in the sense in which we now understand it, would be absolutely destroyed if those Straits were thrown open. It is said that the Sultan's sovereignty would be menaced by such an act; but is not the sovereignty of the Czar as dear to him as the Sultan's? Assuming that there really is any difference between the two Russian plans and those of our Government, is that difference worse than

the incalculable calamities which war must bring upon the country? The sacrifices we have already made have touched the foundations of our national greatness and our national duration. The financial condition of the United States of America, as contrasted with that of this country, shows a balance of expenditure of 75,000,000 a year in favour of the former. Should the war expenditure go on, capital, trade, population and industry, may be transferred to the United States.

"The member for Southwark, the Chancellor of the Exchequer especially, and I am afraid many other members of this House, seem to think little of taxes, and they have no patience with me if I speak of the cost of the war. I am obliged to ask the attention of the House for a moment on this point. I recollect that in the life of Necker it is stated that an aristocratic lady came to him, when he was the finance minister of Louis XVI., and asked him to give her a thousand crowns from the public treasury—not an unusual demand in those days. Necker refused to give what was asked. The lady started with astonishment. She had an eye to the vast funds which were collected from the taxes, and she said, 'What can a thousand crowns be to the king?' Necker answered her very seriously, 'Madam, a thousand crowns are the taxes of a whole village.' I ask hon. gentlemen to consider what it is that taxes mean? What is it but the clothing and furniture of many a poor family in Lancashire or Yorkshire; medical attendance to many a sick wife; the school pence of three or four little children; hopeless toil to the father of the family, penury through his life, a cheerless old age; and, if I may quote the language of the poet of humble life, last of all 'the little bell tolled hastily for the pauper's funeral.' That is what taxes mean. The honourable member for Dorsetshire spoke in a manner that I thought rather flippant and hardly respectful of some of us on this bench some nights ago. Let me tell him that the labourers of Dorsetshire and the weavers and spinners of Lancashire are toiling, and must toil, harder, longer, and with smaller remuneration, for every hundred pounds that you exact in taxes from the people beyond what is necessary for the just and judicious requirements of the exchequer of the country. I hope, then, that I shall be permitted to treat the question on this ground. And recollect that which strikes down the children in the cottage attacks also the children in the palace. If you darken the homes and destroy the hopes of the population in the humble dwellings of the country, you also darken the hopes and the prospects of the offspring of our Queen, in whom are bound up so much of the interest and so many of the hopes of the people of this country. Why should we not, therefore, disregard the small-minded ambition that struggles for place? Why should we not by a frank, a just, and an earnest policy, restore, as I believe we may do, tranquillity to Europe, and prosperity to the country which is so dear to us?" (*Cheers*).

On the motion of Mr. FRANCIS SCOTT, the debate was again adjourned, the next evening being fixed for its continuation.

#### SAVINGS BANKS AND FRIENDLY SOCIETIES INVESTMENTS BILL.

The second reading of this bill was moved by the CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, when, after some discussion, the order was discharged, on the understanding that a new bill on the subject should be introduced.

The Friendly Societies Bill was read a third time and passed.

#### CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY BILL.

In the House of Lords, on Thursday, the LORD CHANCELLOR, on the order of the day being read for the recommission of the Cambridge University Bill, explained the various amendments which he proposed to introduce into the measure, the general effect of which may be described as intended to render the clauses for reforming the general body of the University of Cambridge in unison with those contained in the bill passed last year for the University of Oxford. In the case of Dissenters, it was proposed that they should be allowed to proceed to the degree of Master of Arts on the understanding that such Masters of Arts were not to become members of the Senate unless they subscribed the Thirty-nine Articles.

After some discussion, the bill passed through committee.

The Ecclesiastical Property (Ireland) Bill was read a third time, and passed.

#### PETITIONS PRESENTED.

MAYNORTH GRANT.—By Mr. H. W. Wickham, from the Orangemen of the township of Manningham, West Riding of Yorkshire; Mr. Lindsay, from the United Presbyterian congregation of North Shields; Mr. Cheetham, from the vicar and the inhabitants of Prescott, Lancashire; Mr. Alexander Hastie, from Glasgow; Mr. Cowan, from the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, from the Edinburgh Young Men's Protestant Society, from the deacons and curates of St. Andrew's Church, Edinburgh, from the United Presbyterian churches of Great Junction-street, Wick, Bridgend, and Cowgate; all against.

## THE WAR.

FURTHER successes in the Sea of Azof and in other war localities, keep up the happy auguries of last week. The Russians appear to be seized with a fatalism equal to that of the most theoretical Mahometan; and to make no other resistance than the negative one of burning their shipping and stores. Attacked with vigour, they fly with precipitation from the advancing enemy; and we have little else to do than to occupy each new position as it falls into our hands, and to write home the records of our triumphs.

Soudjak Kaleh, in Circassia, was evacuated on the 28th of May; on which occasion, the Russians burnt the principal buildings, and abandoned sixty guns and six mortars, having first rendered them unserviceable. About the same time, Genitchi was captured by the Allies. This exploit is thus detailed in a despatch from General Pelissier, published in the *Moniteur*:—

"Advices received from Kertch, dated the 31st of May, announce that, on the refusal of the military authorities of Genitchi, to situate on the northern extremity of the tongue of land of Arabat, to give up the Government stores and ninety vessels laden with provisions for the Russian army in the Crimea, the squadron, under the orders of Captain Lyons, bombarded the place, drove out the troops, and destroyed all the stores.

"The enemy has thus lost, in four days, an immense quantity of provisions, four war steamers, and two hundred and forty vessels employed exclusively in provisioning the troops in the Crimea."

In accomplishing this result, seamen and marines were landed; but not a man of the Allies was killed, and only one was wounded.

"It never rains but it pours," says the homely adage; and therefore on the top of the news of these captures comes the intelligence that the bombardment was resumed on the 6th inst. With our two previous failures before our eyes, we are certainly not warranted in being very hopeful on that score; yet, when it is considered that we are still nearer the walls, that our weight of metal has been greatly increased, that we are flushed with success while the enemy is disheartened by defeat, and that Pelissier is at the head of the French army, it is impossible not to admit that we have a better prospect of battering down the obdurate walls of Sebastopol than on either of the former attempts.

General Gortschakoff must begin to feel uneasy; but he puts the best face he can on his reverses, and writes home to his master that, in consequence of the measures he has taken, the Allies will not be able to cut off the communications of the Russian army. The following are the terms in which the St. Petersburg journals announce the occupation of the line of the Tchernaya by the Allies, and the recent successes in the Sea of Azof:—

"At two o'clock in the afternoon of the 24th, the Allied forces appeared in the Strait of Kertch. Near Sebastopol considerable forces of the Allied army have occupied the heights of the left bank of the Tchernaya, and are establishing a fortified camp there."

Our readers will recollect that it was the right bank of the Tchernaya which we occupied.

The Russians are rapidly making redoubts on the north side of Sebastopol; but they are as yet unarmed. Four regiments of infantry, each 3600 strong, are said by the Russians to have arrived at Perekop under General Oushakoff; and General Grotenhielm is also reported to have reached the isthmus with four regiments of light cavalry, each containing 960 men. But we must not place too much faith in these accounts. On the other hand, we read that General Williams has nearly completed the fortifications of Erzeroum, and was then to fortify Kars. A despatch from Marseilles says that the Russian troops which were expected at Tiflis had been sent off to the Crimea, and in consequence great apprehensions were entertained in Tiflis of an attack by Schamyl and the Turks. Further accounts received through Constantinople relate that General Mouravieff, Commander-in-Chief of the Russian detached army of the Caucasus, is in great want of reinforcements. To supply their lack, he is attempting to raise troops by voluntary enlistment from among the Armenian population. He is at the same time endeavouring to negotiate a suspension of hostilities with Schamyl.

Omar Pacha has embarked at Eupatoria and landed at Kamiesch a body of 25,000 picked men and forty guns. These were to be replaced by an Egyptian and Tunisian division.

The following despatch from General Pelissier, dated June 1, is published in the *Moniteur*:—

"We have exploded two mines before the Flagstaff Battery, the second of which did much damage to the enemy.

"In the ravine of Careening Bay, in advance of our

works, our engineers discovered a transverse line of twenty-four cubic cases filled with gunpowder, each forty centimetres thick in the inside, placed at equal distances, and buried just beneath the sod; each case containing one-fifth of a kilogramme of powder, and covered with a fulminating apparatus, which would explode by the simple pressure of the foot. These cases have been taken up by our engineers."

The Russians appear to be concentrating at Anapa, and to be strengthening their works there.

In the action of the 23rd of May, the French lost was 600 killed, and 2000 wounded. The Russian killed amounted to 1500, and their wounded to 6000.

#### GENERAL CANROBERT.

A special correspondent of the *Daily News*, writing from the Crimea, says:—

"Those who have watched General Canrobert during the anxious months of our Crimean trials will always think of him with feelings of gratitude and admiration. We can never forget the time when his eye and his hand were on all points of our camp; when he and his cortege of general officers by their daily rides almost traced out the lines which it behoved us to occupy; when his superior soldiery supplied him with resources for our assistance which all the wealth of Great Britain could not supply for us at the time; when his transport took down our sick, and his men took up our shot; when his regiments turned out to make the very roads that connected our lines with our depot, and when all eyes in the camp were turned to the French commander, not as our general, but as our preserver. These are matters which none but the base and ungrateful can ever forget, and even their oblivion is a pretence."

The Paris correspondent of the same paper writes:

"I am permitted to make use of a private letter from an officer of rank which has been shown to me, and which explains from the best source the immediate causes which led to the resignation of General Canrobert, as they are reported by his intimate friends. Long before that event, General Canrobert had strongly felt the necessity for a new plan of vigorous action, and had continually expressed his opinion to that effect to Lord Raglan. In his view, considerations of strategy, as well as considerations relating to the health and moral of the troops, made it impossible that his army could remain long in the lines before Sebastopol, slowly carrying on a siege, without the most disastrous consequences. There were two principal schemes for action. One, suggested by the Emperor, was the sending of a number of troops to Eupatoria, and a march from north to south to effect a junction across the Russian lines with the besieging army. Another, which was the plan conceived by General Canrobert himself, was to march from south to north—to reverse, in fact, the turning march performed after the battle of Alma. General Canrobert saw difficulties in the way of the Emperor's proposal, but he made great and unsuccessful efforts to induce Lord Raglan to concur in his own. Two councils of war were held in quick succession, at the second of which Omar Pacha was present. At this second council, Lord Raglan, with difficulty was brought to consent to the proposition; but the next day he sent word to General Canrobert that he could not spare a man from the trenches. Canrobert was so disheartened at this, that he sent off at once the telegraphic despatch, requesting to be superseded. The letter describes Lord Raglan as endowed with the inertia to such an extent as to leave little room for any other quality. He remembers the siege of Badajoz. He finds that he makes progress, although but slowly; and with bulldog tenacity he is resolved, come what may, to stick by his trenches. General Pelissier, it is said, at once came to an understanding with him, and combined a scheme for a more extended action on the part of the French army with the concession to Lord Raglan that the bulk of the English troops should remain in their present positions."

It is supposed by many that the misunderstanding about the first Kertch expedition was at the bottom of General Canrobert's secession, which, it is asserted, was rendered obligatory by the Emperor himself, who, however, offered the general a high command in Africa. To this offer, report says that Canrobert replied that he would rather remain with the army in the Crimea, even if he wore the uniform of a private.

On quitting the chief command, General Canrobert issued the following address to the army:—

"General Order.—Soldiers.—General Pelissier, Commander of the First Corps, assumes from this day's date the chief command of the army in the East. The Emperor, by placing at your head a general accustomed to great commands, grown old in war and in the camp, has wished to give you an additional proof of his solicitude, and to prepare still more the successes which, believe me, shortly await your energetic perseverance. In leaving the exalted position where circumstances and the will of the Sovereign had placed me, and where you maintained me, in the midst of severe trials, by your warlike virtues and that confiding devotion with which you never ceased to honour me, I do not separate myself from you; the happiness of taking a closer share in your glorious fatigues and your noble labours has been granted



to me, and it is together, under the skilful and firm guidance of the new Commander-in-Chief, that we shall continue to fight for France and for the Emperor.—*CANROBERT.* Head-quarters before Sebastopol, May 19.

General Pelissier, on the same day, issued the unmet order:—

"Soldiers.—Our former General-in-Chief has made known to you the will of the Emperor, who, at the general's request, has placed me at the head of the army of the East. In receiving from the Emperor the command of this army so long exercised by such noble hands, I feel certain that I express the sentiments of all of us; when I proclaim that General Canrobert carries with him all our regrets and all our gratitude.

"To the brilliant *souvenirs* of Alma and of Inkerman, he has added the merit, greater still perhaps, of having, during a formidable winter campaign, preserved for our country and our Sovereign one of the finest armies that France ever had. You owe it to him that you are now in a position to bring the struggle to an issue (*engager à fond la lutte*) and to triumph.

"If, as I feel certain it will, success should crown our efforts, you will not fail to pronounce his name in your songs of victory. He has resolved to remain in our ranks, and although he might have had a higher command he wished but one thing, and that was to put himself at the head of his old division. I have deferred to the entreaties, the inflexible desires, of him who was but yesterday our chief, and who will ever be my friend.

"Soldiers, I have the fullest confidence in you. After so many trials, so many generous efforts, nothing can be too much for your courage. You all know what the Emperor and the country expect from you. Be what you have hitherto been; and, thanks to your energy, and to the assistance of our intrepid allies and the brave sailors of our squadrons, we shall conquer, with the help of God.

"PELISSIER.

"Head-quarters before Sebastopol, May 19, 1855."

On resuming the command of the First Division, General Canrobert published a brief address, which we here append:—

"Comrades of the First Division.—You have given me, under circumstances the most arduous and the most glorious, so many proofs of devotedness, you have inspired me with so great confidence, that while voluntarily, and out of a sense of duty to my country, resigning the command in chief of an army of 130,000 men, I desired above all things the honour of again becoming your immediate chief, and fighting at your head against the enemies of France and of the Emperor,

"CANROBERT,

"General of Division, Aide-de-Camp to the Emperor, commanding the 1st Division of Infantry.

"Before Sebastopol, May 22."

#### A FEAT OF COURAGE.

A Russian exhibited remarkable coolness in the performance of a very daring and, as far as could be understood, unnecessary act, about 11 o'clock on the morning of Saturday, the 19th instant. The man alluded to walked out of a trench on the side of the Mamelon Vert, running nearly parallel with the ravine between the Mamelon and Frenchman's-hill. He was completely enveloped in a white covering of linen, or some such material, his head being wrapped round with it as well as his body. The object seemed to be to render himself as conspicuous as possible, for as the sun was shining with a strong glare at the time, the contrast with the grass and dark ground was very marked. The upper part of his body was first seen; but, as he walked coolly on to the open ground, he became fully exposed to view. When first observed, he could not have been more than five hundred yards from the bayonet at the right of the advanced works, towards which his back was turned; but the men in this trench apparently did not perceive him, as they did not fire. A party of men and officers, however, about two hundred yards further off along the advanced work, saw him at once, and discharged altogether about thirty shots at him from their Minies. The first few bullets fell short; but, the range being altered, the remainder were observed to kick up the dust on all sides of him. The white gentleman of the Mamelon took no notice, beyond looking round twice; he neither hastened his pace, bent his body, nor in any way evinced a desire to elude the leaden messengers which were sent to arrest his progress. Six or seven minutes elapsed before he was again under shelter of the works. As there was a covered way at no great distance, along which he could have passed in safety, this extraordinary exposure was manifestly voluntary, or if forced, must have been as a punishment. Perhaps it was done for a wager!—*Daily News Correspondent.*

#### NEW RUSSIAN WORKS.

On the Mamelon Vert hill, the enemy are throwing up some additional works. They have had, for ten days or more, a very deep trench with parapet, extending from the left of the Kamtschatka redoubt (our right) across the hill towards the Carrening-bay ravine. At the upper part of this trench, not far from the point where it is connected with the fosse of the redoubt, a battery has been constructed, and already five guns are mounted, which will bear on the French approaches in front. This

work is being extended. They have also brought some small mortars into a part of the rifle trench near the French parallel to reply to others which had been previously brought down by the French to their advanced work. The covered ways in the Mamelon now form a network of trenches.—*Idem.*

#### THE ADVANCE ON THE TCHERNAYA.

A special correspondent of the *Daily News* gives the following vivid account of the occupation of the line of the Tchernaya:—

"This morning (May 25), at one o'clock, the Allied forces destined to operate against the Tchernaya, descended from the hills and formed in the plain outside the lines of Balaklava. It was one of those fine, fresh Crimean spring nights which, if they cannot make us forget, at least reconcile us to, the heat of the day. The stars shone bright; the crescent was high up in the sky; and white fleecy clouds were rapidly drifting across the deep blue background of the horizon. The camps were all in motion, not noisily, nor yet silently, for there was little concealment in our taking the field. For two hours, the clatter of horses' hoofs upon the stones, and the deep hollow rumbling of waggons, announced the descent of the cavalry and artillery; but, as their dark shadowy masses arrived on the borders of the plain, even this noise ceased, smothered by the thick carpet of turf over which the troops moved. The large masses of the infantry might be seen as they moved through the white fog which rose up from the lower ground; but their steps were hardly heard, even on the stony surface of the road down the hills. As the columns debouched into the plain, they marched in different directions, so as to embrace in their attack the whole length of the line of low hills, which intersect the plain of Balaklava, and which in the history of the Crimean campaign are known as the Turkish batteries. . . . The troops, preceded by clouds of skirmishers, traversed the plain, and all the hill-tops were ascended almost at the same moment. The enemy's redoubts, as had been expected, were unarmed, with the exception of the one to the left, from which a few rounds of shot were fired; but the firing was evidently from a single gun, and that gun was carried off long before our skirmishers crowned the hill. A slight skirmish took place as the Sardinians, on our extreme right, ascended the hills of Kamara. The cavalry had, meanwhile, made their way up through the sloping grounds that separate the hills; and the Chasseurs d'Afrique and our own Hussars were fortunate enough to come up with a body of Cossacks, evidently bent upon effecting their retreat. They were attacked, and some of them were captured, at a very trifling cost of casualties. A few of the Chasseurs d'Afrique were wounded; one of our Hussar horses was shot, and one officer was slightly wounded. The Cossacks, and a small force of infantry which supported them, were driven down to the banks of the Tchernaya, and pursued across them. A small battery on a steep hill to the right, on the other side of the Tchernaya, which was held by infantry unprovided with guns, was attacked by the French infantry, who took it with ease, and at a very trifling loss. Here, too, several of the enemy were captured. Those of the Allied forces that had crossed the river—which, at this dry season, is fordable at all points—entered the village of Tchougoun, and for an hour or two kept possession of the hills surrounding it. They then retired. Here ended the operations of the day, by the Allied forces taking up a position on the heights commanding this side of the river. . . . The state of the ground between the Turkish batteries and the Tchernaya shows at once that the Russians never had a serious intention of defending this, their look-out position. Small numbers of troops only have been quartered in or traversed this part of their late territory. The grass is in full growth; on the banks of the river there are shrubs and trees; and only here and there a few earth-huts, or the black marks of a picket fire, show that some detachments of troops have now and then occupied small camping grounds. The vegetation on that side of the hill is what we found it on our side when we first landed in the Crimea—abundant and odoriferous. Flowers, bright blue, purple, and yellow, actually cover the ground; little pots of poppies shine in the distance like fields of red ochre; and the brushwood is intermixed with wild rose shrubs in full bloom, and some wild herb or other, as our horses champed the grass, or sniffed the faint odour of the peach. Add to this, that the heat of the sun was tempered by a fresh breeze, and you will understand that our first advance against the Russian position had all the features of a field-day in fairyland."

#### A BOLD CASE OF DESERTION.

The *Times* Eupatorian correspondent writes as follows:—

"Yesterday there was a rather bold case of desertion. The 4th Regiment of Cavalry of Roumelia was doing duty at the outposts. On the side of the bridge which forms the extreme right of our vidette line the two videttes are placed on a little mound, not more than one hundred yards from the bridge. About fifty yards behind them is a post of fifteen or twenty men, under a sergeant, and further back the squadron. About noon,

the corporal of the advanced post went coolly to the sergeant and asked him for a light for his cigarette. The sergeant had none, consequently the corporal requested the sergeant to allow him to mount his horse and go to the videttes to ask one of them for it. The permission was given, the corporal went up to the mound where the videttes were placed, and a moment afterwards all three set off in a gallop and went over the bridge which forms the boundary line between the Russian and Turkish line of outposts. The sergeant, seeing this, instantly ordered his men to mount, and dashed down at their head to the bridge, but it was too late; the fugitives had passed. The Russians, seeing the pursuers and the pursued coming in a gallop towards the bridge, thought it was an attack; they mounted their steeds and ran off towards their main guard. But when they saw the three deserters dismount, and the rest stopping at the side of the bridge, they returned and took the deserters away. This is the second case of desertion which has occurred since the Turks have been in the Crimea."

#### DEFICIENCY OF WATER.—PAST AND PRESENT.

The scarcity of water becomes more formidable every day. I understand that the Sanitary Commissioners have enunciated an opinion, formed on scientific geological grounds, that there is no reason to apprehend any want of water; but it is nevertheless true that the watering of the cavalry horses, as I am informed, is now accomplished with difficulty, and that two days ago the watering was not finished till evening, so scanty was the supply. Sir John McNeill and Colonel Tulloch have nearly completed the examination of the principal medical officers here, and have had their eyes a little opened with respect to the sufferings of the army and the neglect which led to them. If their report be made public, it will be seen how widely "cooked" evidence differs from the truth. The people of England, the House of Commons, and the Peers, will learn on unimpeachable testimony what the facts really are and were, and they will be taught to estimate at their true value many of the official and officious contradictions made at home and from the Crimea of statements which were not only unexaggerated, but far too lenient. They will hear that at the time diarrhoea was sweeping away its hundreds a week, the store of specifics for it in one division amounted to about one dose per regiment; that once in the winter darkness the store of candles amounted to one per regiment, and that the distance between the camp and head-quarters seemed capable of infinite lengthening, if a requisition was to be returned or medical demands complied with. Let bygones be bygones; but let us know what was the truth about the past, at all events. There is now no deficiency in any article, as far as I can learn, and no army was ever so amply and luxuriously provided.—*Times Correspondent.*

#### A RUSSIAN DESIGN "CHECKMATED."—A POLISH ODD FELLOW.

It seems tolerably certain that Russia intended to try her hand at a diversion in the direction of India, had we not deranged her plans by the invasion of the Crimea. There is a Russian officer now at headquarters who belonged to a regiment that was actually told off for a march to India last year. There were several other regiments destined for the same expedition, but they too found themselves encamped on the Alma on the 19th of September, and on the road to Baktschi-Seral the following evening. The officers had been provided with books relating to India, and had been studying "the manners and customs" of the Hindoos and Mussulmans of the great peninsula. It is said, to be sure, that it would be impossible for the Russians to transport an army over the torrid wastes which lie between them and India; but there was a certain Alexander who once moved a very efficient army in the same direction, through regions more sparsely populated and less cultivated. The officer in question "hath a pleasant wit," and gives abundant proofs, in the pleasant couplets he remembers concerning the war, that the Russians are by no means destitute of humour. He sings one song about the proceedings of Prince Menshikoff after the Alma, which is said by those who can appreciate it to be intensely funny. The Prince is represented as having fled to a house in Baktschi-Seral, out of the window of which he interrogates the passers-by respecting the fate of Sebastopol, and he is at last astonished to hear it has not been taken, and begins to dance with joy, to extol his grand flank march, and to boast of his splendid defence of the place. Another song, from the same mouth, puts the contest in a ludicrous light, and declares that the whole siege is only a struggle to see whether the Russians or the Allies are the best diggers and ditchers:—"We build one redoubt, they build another; they make one trench, we make its brother." &c. The gentleman is a Pole, and was present at Alma and Inkerman. At the latter battle, the company he commanded lost seventy-five men out of one hundred and thirty. He then served with the external army, but got tired of Tchougoun and *blasi* with the monotony of life in huts. He collected all his resources, and gave a grand ball to his friends in the army near Tchougoun—champagne at 30s., a bottle, claret, at 20s., and pickles at 10s.—and next day came into our cavalry pickets, with a brother officer, on the day of the races at Karanyi, and has been living here ever since.—*Idem.*

## DESPATCH FROM LORD RAGLAN—OCCUPATION OF THE TCHERNAYA.

Before Sebastopol, May 26.

My Lord,—I have the honour to report to your Lordship that a portion of the Allied armies took up a position yesterday on this side of the Tchernaya, the left of the French resting under a redoubt established upon the edge of this ridge overhanging the valley, and opposite the Inkerman heights; the right extending beyond Tractir; and the ground more to the right, behind Tchorgoun, being occupied by the Sardinian troops, aided in their advance by the 10th Hussars and 12th Lancers and the Horse Artillery, under Colonel Paribby.

Omar Pacha at the same time moved forward to the low heights in front of Balaklava, and thus afforded support to the French Divisions before him. These were commanded by General Canrobert, who pushed forward across the bridge of Tractir, and drove the enemy, who were not in great numbers, off, and, having cleared his front, he withdrew to the side of the river, where he now remains.

Sir Colin Campbell advanced the Royal Marines from the high ridge on our extreme right to a point commanding the old Baidar road; and Colonel Paribby, with the regiments I have mentioned, reconnoitred the country on the immediate right of General La Marmora's position, and patrolled along the Woronzoff road, in the direction of Baidar.

The appearance and bearing of the Sardinian troops are highly satisfactory, and I anticipate the greatest advantage from their addition to this army under their distinguished leader, General La Marmora, whose zeal for the service and ardent desire to co-operate with us I am happy to have so early an opportunity of acknowledging and recording. Nothing of importance has occurred in the British trenches since I wrote to your Lordship on the 19th inst.

The death of Colonel Egerton, of the 77th, on the night of the 19th ult., as already announced to your Lordship, prevented my receiving in due course the official report of the conduct of the officers serving immediately under him, and it is only a few days ago that I learnt that Captain Gilby was the next in seniority to him, of the 77th, on the occasion, and that he had highly distinguished himself.

I deem it an act of justice to a most deserving officer to bring his conduct under the notice of your Lordship.

I enclose the returns of casualties to the 24th instant. Your Lordship will regret to see that Lieutenant Williams, of the 17th, has been severely wounded.

I have the greatest pleasure in announcing to your Lordship the brilliant success which attended an attack by the French army of some ambuscades at the head of the Quarantine Bay, and in front of a cemetery near it. The attack was made on the night of the 22nd; and the operation was completed on the following evening. The enemy had collected a very large force on the first occasion to resist our allies; but, notwithstanding, the French were enabled by their brilliant gallantry and determined resolution to maintain themselves in the pits at the head of the bay on the 22nd, and on the 23rd to occupy the whole with less resistance on the part of the Russians, who are stated to have sustained a very severe loss.

The French were necessarily exposed to a very heavy fire, and were assailed by vastly superior numbers. The achievement they accomplished redounds therefore highly to their renown, and is hailed with satisfaction by their allies.

An expedition, composed of British, French, and Turkish troops, sailed for Kerch on Tuesday evening and Wednesday morning, and I hope soon to be able to announce the landing of the corps, and the result of its first operations. It is commanded by Lieutenant-General Sir George Brown, and has been conveyed in English and French ships under the command of Admiral Sir E. Lyons and Admiral Bruat, whose exertions to carry out this important service have been most conspicuous.

The 31st Regiment has arrived from Corfu.

I am much concerned to have to report that Major-General Buller has been obliged, by the failure of his health, to leave the army. He has been constant in the discharge of his duty since he joined this army, distinguished himself both at Alma and Inkerman, and persevered in taking his turn in the trenches until driven by illness to withdraw. I regret the loss of his services exceedingly.

I have, &amp;c.,

The Lord Panmure, &amp;c.

RAGLAN.

Casualties—1 sergeant, 8 rank and file, killed; 1 officer, 1 drummer, 44 rank and file, wounded. Naval Brigade: 1 killed, 4 wounded.

## DESPATCH FROM SIR EDMUND LYONS—OPERATIONS IN THE SEA OF AZOF.

Royal Albert, Straits of Kerch, May 26, 1855.

Sir,—I have great pleasure in requesting you to inform the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that the Allied forces are masters of the Straits of Kerch, and that they have in the Sea of Azof a powerful steam flotilla, of light draught of water, capable of cutting off the enemy's supplies, and harassing him at all points; and, moreover, that the means are at hand for sending in

a vast number of gun-boats of the lighter draught, if it should be found desirable to do so.

My letter of the 22nd instant, No. 396, will have informed their lordships that an Allied expedition, consisting of 15,000 men of all arms, and five batteries of artillery, were then on the point of leaving the anchorage off Sebastopol, for Kerch, and my message by electric telegraph will have announced the complete success of that expedition; but it now remains for me to give an account of our proceedings for their lordships' information.

The fleet, which consisted of her Majesty ships named in the margin,\* and a French fleet of nearly equal force, under the command of my very gallant and energetic colleague, Vice-Admiral Bruat, assembled off the Straits of Kerch at early dawn on the birthday of her most gracious Majesty the Queen, and both armies and navies confidently anticipated a successful celebration of that auspicious day. The fleets steamed rapidly up to Kamiesch, where the army landed under cover of the guns of the steam-frigates, and immediately ascended the heights without opposition, whilst the steamers of light draught of water pushed on towards Kerch and Yeni-Kaleh; and the enemy, apparently taken by surprise at the rapidity of these movements, and at the imposing appearance of the expedition, blew up his fortifications on both sides of the straits, mounting not less than fifty guns (new and of heavy calibre), which have fallen into our possession, and retired after having destroyed three steamers, and several other heavily-armed vessels, as well as large quantities of provisions, ammunition, and stores, thus leaving us masters of the entrance into the Sea of Azof, without our having sustained any loss whatever.

As the disembarkation was unopposed, in consequence of the fire of the steam frigates having arrested the advance of the enemy, there was no field for the gallantry that animated every one in the expedition; but the duties they had to perform were very arduous, and I should be doing injustice to them and to my own feelings if I were not to say that no commander-in-chief was ever more ably assisted than I am by the captains and those under their command—one and all follow the admirable example of the zealous and talented second in command, Rear-Admiral Stewart, and they could not possibly do better. There was, however, an incident during the day that called forth the admiration of both fleets, and which deserves to be particularly noticed. Lieutenant McKillop, whose gun-vessel, the Snake, was not employed like the others in landing troops, dashed past the forts after an enemy's steamer, and although he soon found himself engaged, not only with her but also with two others who came to her support, he persevered, and by the cleverness and extreme rapidity of his manoeuvres prevented the escape of all three; and they were consequently destroyed by the enemy, and the Snake had not a man hurt, though shot passed through the vessel.

Yesterday, Admiral Bruat and I accompanied the combined steam flotilla, named in the margin,† into the Sea of Azof, and despatched them, under the orders of Captain Lyons, of the Miranda, on the interesting and important service they have before them.

Had this expedition been deferred but a short time longer, there would have been many and great difficulties to overcome, for the enemy was actively employed in strengthening the sea defences, and in replacing the sunken vessels which had been carried away by the current during the winter months.

Of the forty vessels sunk last year, some still remain, and a French steamer touched upon one of them yesterday. It appears that the enemy did not succeed in destroying the coals, either at Kerch or Yeni-Kaleh; so that about 17,000 tons remain, which will be available for our steamers.

It will be evident to their lordships that the rapid operations which I have had the honour and happiness to describe to them, could not have been brought to so satisfactory a conclusion, if the most perfect understanding, and the most hearty goodwill towards each other, had not prevailed throughout the Allied fleets and armies.—I am, &c.,

(Signed)

EDMUND LYONS,

Rear-Admiral and Commander-in-Chief. The Secretary of the Admiralty, London.

Admiralty, June 6.

With reference to the above despatch, Lieutenant Henry Frederick McKillop will be promoted to the rank of commander, so soon as he shall have completed the sea time required to qualify him for that rank.

## DESPATCH FROM SIR EDMUND LYONS TO LORD RAGLAN.

Royal Albert, off Sebastopol, May 10.

My Lord,—I have the honour to enclose, for your

\* Royal Albert, Hannibal, Algiers, Agamemnon, St. Jean d'Acre, Princess Royal, Sidon, Valorous, Leopard, Tribune, Simoom, Furious, Highflyer, Terrible, Miranda, Sphinx, Spitfire, Gladiator, Vesuvius, Curlew, Swallow, Caradoc, Stromboli, Ardent, Medina, Wrangler, Viper, Lynx, Recruit, Arrow, Banisher, Snake, Beagle.

† Miranda, Vesuvius, Curlew, Swallow, Stromboli, Ardent, Medina, Wrangler, Viper, Lynx, Recruit, Arrow, Snake, Beagle, and five French steam-vessels.

Excellency's information, a copy of a letter from Commander Priest, of the Himalaya, calling my attention to the praiseworthy exertions of Captain Gell, of the East India Company's service; and, as her Majesty's Consul at Alexandria, and Colonel Pole, of the 12th Lancers, both bear testimony to this officer's valuable services, I shall feel greatly obliged if your Excellency will have the goodness to bring his conduct under favourable consideration in the proper quarter.

I have, &amp;c.,

Lord Raglan.

EDMUND LYONS.

Captain Gell was employed in superintending the embarkation at Alexandria of the 10th Hussars and 12th Lancers, whom he had conducted through Egypt.

## HEALTH OF THE ARMY—THE CHOLERA.

Before Sebastopol, May 26.

My Lord,—I have the honour to enclose a return of the daily progress of cholera in the army in the Crimea, from 19th to 25th of May inclusive.

Your lordship will notice by this return, that the disease has moderated in violence, and that the mortality is one-third less than it was during the preceding seven days, though I cannot say that the number of attacks has diminished in proportion, or that the disease has been circumscribed by narrower limits; on the contrary, I think it, if anything, more generally diffused, as cases have occurred in every division.

At Balaklava, several admissions into the General Hospital there have taken place from the Sardinian Contingent, from the Land Transport Corps, and from ships in the harbour, which have swelled out our lists of both admissions and deaths.

The removal of the Buffs and 48th Regiment to higher and drier ground has been attended with good results.

Great attention is paid to the sanitary condition of the camps, and to all matters that it is thought may tend to excite the disease.

The attention of medical officers has been drawn to the subject of cholera belts, and I have reason to believe that the whole army has been supplied with them, and if not, the supply in store is ample enough to meet the demand.—I have, &c.,

J. HALL,

Inspector-General of Hospitals.

Field-Marshal Lord Raglan, G.C.B.,

Commanding-in-Chief.

## WAR MISCELLANEA.

HEALTH OF THE ARMY: THE CHOLERA.—The *Crimean* correspondent of the *Daily News* writes as follows under date of May 22:—"We have had less intense heat during the last two days. Cases of cholera have continued, but they have been generally 'sporadic' in character. A few cases have occurred among the Sardinians, and one or two have appeared in the Highland Brigade. In one instance, six mule-drivers from the same but were attacked by the disease, and taken to the general hospital at Balaklava. The regiments of cavalry have remained without a case. There has been a diminution in the number of fresh cases in front; but Major Norton, the senior major of the Connaught Rangers, has fallen a victim to the disease. He was attacked in the course of Saturday, the 19th inst., and died early in the morning of the following day. A large concourse of officers attended his funeral."

STATE OF SEBASTOPOL.—The *Austrian Military Zeitung* contains a letter from Sebastopol, under date May 13, in which it is said:—"The southern side of our town is scarcely to be recognised; five hundred houses have been totally destroyed. The beautiful theatre no longer exists. The streets are everywhere rooted up by shot, and the pavement is totally destroyed, while at every corner stand whole pyramids of the enemy's cannon-balls, and exploded shells, which are daily collected before the opening of the fire. In many streets five or six such pyramids are to be seen, each of them from eight to ten feet high. Nevertheless business is continued, and booths are opened for the sale of goods. Prices, however, are enormously raised, and sugar costs one silver rouble per pound. The supply of meat is more than abundant; but bread is exceedingly scarce. Yet neither the thunder of the enemy's cannon, nor the siege of Sebastopol, has suffered to disturb us any longer; we mourn over our adversaries, who are shedding their blood without result before our brazen walls. We read many absurd statements about the condition of the besieged; but the saddest of all is, undoubtedly, the news that we suffer from want of supplies, and that hundreds and hundreds of us are daily cut off by death—of all which no trace is to be seen."

A CLEVER PLAN.—There was a plan some time ago proposed by an engineer to save us from surprise. It consisted of wires placed at a distance of a few feet from poles fixed in the ground, and so arranged as to set fire to blue lights on being touched. For some reason or other the project has not been carried out.—*Times Correspondent*.

THE GERMAN FOREIGN LEGION, now being formed in the small island of Heligoland, appeared to get on rather slowly. About thirty of the huts or wooden barracks have been finished; but, although the island is no larger, according to the report of one who has been



there, than the Regent's-park, few of the "legion" are to be seen.

#### THE FRENCH AND RUSSIAN ARMIES OF THE NORTH.

The Berlin Correspondent of the *Times* says:—"The French, if a report current in Lubeck two days back be true, will export soldiers to the neighbourhood of the German ocean, who will on landing proceed direct to Lubeck, and be shipped at Travemunde for employment on the Baltic coast. This, if it can be accomplished, will be the most judicious and economical mode possible, for it avoids the whole trip round Denmark, with all the tedious navigation of the Scandinavian Archipelago, its dangers, and its Sound dues." The Russians also seem desirous of a Foreign Legion; for the same writer adds:—"In Copenhagen, the Russians are recruiting for every species of service. An active agent took up his quarters at a first-rate hotel there about the 20th of last month; and, before the police got a scent of his mission, he had left Copenhagen with about forty or fifty able-bodied men. From one engineer's shop alone, he got ten or twelve excellent smiths; and, besides those, he had engaged medical men, chemists, and even military officers."

**RUSSIAN LEVIES.**—The *Times* Berlin correspondent says:—"The latest news from Russia shows that the Northern Power is beginning already to feel a sensible lack of that raw material for war purposes which Russian official language styles 'souls,' but which Russian military tactics treat as mere bodies. It is only as far back as the 6th ult. that the Emperor issued his ukase, which, in consideration of the necessity of keeping up the full complement of the armies and navies, ordered a levy of twelve in every thousand registered male souls in the seventeen western governments of the empire; and now, under date of the 26th of that same month, a supplementary ukase is published, professedly for the purpose of 'facilitating the levy,' and ordering that in the State domains in the said seventeen governments peasants of more advanced age than that prescribed by law, viz., up to the age of thirty, shall be included in the liability to serve."

**A YOUNG VETERAN.**—The *Hamburg News* contains a letter from St. Petersburg, which says:—"Captain Vornow lately made his appearance in the drawing-rooms of the capital, and has excited much attention from the fact that, although he is only twenty-three years of age, he has twenty-four years of service. 1st, he has been eight years in the army; 2nd, he has served six months at Sebastopol, and as, according to an order of the Cabinet of the Emperor Nicholas, each month's service there is to count as a year, his six months are equivalent to six years, which give fourteen years in all; 3rd, he wears the Order of St. Anne and of Vladimir, the cross of the Order of St. George, and has a sash of honour, which reckons for ten years more; and in that way he makes up the twenty-four years. Strange to say, although this officer has been in twelve sorties, he has never received a wound."

**FIRE AT GALATZ.**—A despatch, dated Galatz, 1st of June, says:—"There was a great fire last night in the artillery and cavalry stables, close to the ammunition. The Austrian garrison succeeded in extinguishing the flames, but 103 horses were burnt. The cholera is said to have appeared in the Austrian army in Gallicia."

#### THE BALTIC.

A HAMBURG letter of the 29th ult. in the *Independent* says:—

"The English Government is still increasing the number of its war vessels in the Baltic. At no former period was so powerful a fleet assembled in any sea. On the 24th, a transport steamer, laden with ammunition, and a gun-boat, entered Elsinore. On the 25th, a bomb-vessel, the *Redwing*, reached Copenhagen; and on the 27th, the steam-corvette *Volcano*, with a gun-boat, arrived at Kiel, also coming from England. It is not to be supposed that so large a concentration of naval forces in the gulf will remain there inactive, as last year. The English officers say that Admiral Dundas is only waiting the junction of the French squadron, of which he naturally desires the co-operation, to commence hostilities. . . . Four English ships of war are constantly in sight of Sweaborg, closely watching the movements of the enemy in that military port. In a few hours they can communicate with the main body of the fleet, stationed at Nargen. The Isles of Aland continue to be completely abandoned, no English vessels having as yet visited them. Hostilities are to be carried on this year at the other extremity of the gulf, and it is to be presumed that Admiral Dundas will not allow the season to pass over without striking some decisive blow against the Russian fortresses in that sea. The appearance of three English ships of war before Korpo, near Abo, had caused there considerable alarm. The Russian commander of Abo having made the signals agreed upon, in a short time an entire division of troops was concentrated at Abo and along the coast. This place is considered the most important in the Gulf of Bothnia. An intricate channel leads to it on the sea side, and the waters are so shallow that ships of war cannot well approach the town. The flotilla of gun-boats, expressly constructed in England to operate in these shallows, will enable the Admiral to attack positions hitherto inaccessible. The whole of the Russian troops quar-

tered in the interior of Kestonia, Livonia, and Courland, have been ordered to proceed by forced marches to the coast, where the greater part of the army of General Siewierski is now assembled, awaiting events."

We gather the following from correspondents of the *Times*:—

"The Amphion has been to reconnoitre the Aland Islands. During the winter, the Russian police came over there from Abo, and have sent many of the inhabitants, who had been reported to them for trafficking with us last year, to Siberia; others had been flogged; and the people in the little village of Dagerby were nearly famished during the winter. The police would not allow them to buy provisions at the public stores, for having sold us milk, eggs, &c."

"The general belief of many persons who ought to be well informed on the subject is, that active operations against the enemy are about to be undertaken; but, lest their nature should be made known through the medium of the press—the principal source from which, since the commencement of the war, the British people have derived any detailed information—the utmost reserve on all that relates to the plans of the present campaign is practised by the supreme naval authorities in the Baltic, under the questionable impression that the promulgation of them to the public would tend to the advantage of the Russian Government, by enabling it the more effectually to thwart the offensive measures that are to be adopted."

"The general in command of the Russian army in the Baltic has recently inspected the fortifications of Riga, Revel, and Pernau. The armaments, by his direction, are to be considerably increased along the line of coast. The Russians are reported to consider that Revel is the most likely place to be attacked by the fleets of England and France. Revel, according to an opinion stated to have been given last year by General Jones, is deemed even stronger than Sweaborg."

Large bodies of military have been posted by the Russians all along the Baltic coast, and in the chief towns and cities.

A great many prizes have fallen into our hands.

#### FLOWERS AND MUSIC AT THE CRYSTAL PALACE.

FLORA has been holding high festival in that translucent temple on the green Sydenham slopes and bosky lawns. An ancient Roman might on Saturday last have paid his devotions to the goddess of young buds and flaunting blossoms, among evidences of her creative power more glorious and overwhelming than any he can have ever seen. Anacreon might have wreathed his brows with coronals of greater variety, splendour, and intensity of perfume, than even the gorgeous light and languid glooms of his own Asia Minor could produce, and might have chanted forth some new ode, "dropping odours, dropping wine," under the intoxicating influence. Hafiz, the Persian poet of roses and nightingales, would have fairly acknowledged a rival to the delicious valley of which he sang, and have been content to quaff the wines of Shiraz under the diaphanous roof of "the people's palace." Indeed, the inhabitant of the most favoured climate of South or East must have admitted that science and culture had collected in one spot the most marvellous and bewildering affluence of floral beauty that the eye has yet seen.

"And, after all, what of it?" cries the "practical" man, always eager for something "useful," meaning thereby something profitable to the pocket. "It was a mere effect of colour." Nay, thou mechanical, automaton-souled Jones; it was something more. Yet, even had it been merely so, this alone would be sufficient to move the deep fountains of delight in any spirit which has a living sense of the magnificent marvels of creation. Colour is one of the most glorious and divine of God's physical mysteries—a gorgeous angel coming to us out of the sun-beams. But, over and above their flushing tints and luminous brightness of hue, as though we were looking upon sheer light in its utmost concentration and ripeness, flowers suggest an indescribable purity, grace, and tenderness—a vestal innocence as of the maidenhood of the earth—a something which in all but the most callous minds induces a feeling of natural religion. It is not the most unreasonable peculiarity of the Roman Catholics that placing of flowers upon their altars; and the visitor to Sydenham must be devoid of all feelings of reverence if he do not find himself touched by a finer sense of the marvellous beauty of creation. It is impossible, moreover, to calculate the amount of good that might be done to Methodist and Quaker by such an exhibition, if they could be persuaded to enter the atmosphere of its fascination. Here, indeed, we may learn that Nature's is not a drab-hued universe. Here, in the exquisite lines of Leigh Hunt, we may

"See, and scorn all duller  
Taste, how Heaven loves colour;  
How great Nature, clearly, joys in red and green;  
What sweet thoughts she thinks  
Of violets and pinks,

And a thousand flushing hues, made solely to be seen;

See her whitest lilies  
Chill the silver showers,  
And what a red mouth has her rose, the woman of the flowers."

The Flower Show was interesting also in a scientific point of view, as exhibiting the singular power of art in modifying, and we may even say in improving, natural productions.

It was a great holiday, last Saturday; the Londoners were evidently determined to enjoy themselves. Nearly twenty thousand persons went down by the rail; and to these are to be added about ten thousand who proceeded along the highways. Seven thousand carriages, say the police, were to be seen at Sydenham on that day; and they add that they never beheld so many vehicles in one spot before. The attraction extended to the very highest in the land, with the exception of her Majesty herself, who was expected, but did not come. Prince Albert, however, was there; and the Ministers put off their usual Saturday afternoon meeting until a later hour, in order that they might attend. The Duchess of Kent was also present; and the Duke and Duchess of Argyll, the Duke of Beaufort, the Duchess of Sutherland, and the Duke of Devonshire (the latter just recovering from his late severe illness), might have been noticed during the day.

We append from a daily contemporary a brief notice of the chief features of the occasion:—

"The naves, both north and south, had been fitted up with temporary platforms, running almost their whole length; and these were densely covered with the rarest specimens of the conservatory, the greenhouse, and the garden, all tastefully arranged with an eye to form and colour. In one place, extraordinary specimens of the cactus family attracted groups of admirers; in another, the gay variety of innumerable pelargoniums arrested crowds of young ladies, who looked as gay and *riantes* as themselves. Here the regal azalea shed a flood of pink and scarlet over a whole district; and close at hand the minuter beauties of the exquisitely tinted and formed geraniums arrested the gaze of the more discriminating spectators. Orchids in all their variety occupied a large section of the space; and the interstices were everywhere filled up with stove, hot-house, and pitcher plants, of which few could understand the names, but all could appreciate the rarity and beauty. To the rhododendrons, a great portion of the transept was devoted; and down the southern nave a second platform rivalled its neighbour in the north in the extent, variety, and beauty of its floral treasures. But even here the contributions were not exhausted. Along the whole of the open corridor facing the terrace stands were erected, protected by a stout awning, and forming a sort of aggregate meeting of all the flowers that were more strictly classified inside, and further enriched by parterres of roses. Those who are deep in the mysteries of floriculture, gave the preference to the azaleas, and amongst the azaleas to the contributions of Sir E. Antrobus, whose gardener, Mr. Greene, received the commendations also of the universal public. The orchids next received the most general meed of approbation; and, after them, there was a struggle for pre-eminence amongst the roses, fuchsias, &c. As might have been expected from the backwardness of the season, the display of fruit was not very extensive; but what was exhibited was of very fine quality, especially the strawberries, a magnificent basket of that fruit having been sent up by Mr. M'Ewen, the gardener at Arundel Castle. Some enormous cucumbers were sent in by Mr. Roser, gardener to Mr. Bradbury, together with melons, nectarines, and some bunches of black and white grapes from other contributors; but, on the whole, the show of fruit told tales of the inclemency of the spring which has so recently passed away.

"The flower show, manifold as were its attractions, by no means concluded the bill of fare which the Crystal Palace authorities had provided for their visitors. The musical arrangements concluded not only the whole strength of the permanent orchestra, but also the service of two military bands stationed in different parts of the grounds, and the brilliant performance of Master Arthur Napoleon on the grand piano in the transept. Mr. Schallen's *troupe* performed a varied programme, comprising some of the choicest works of Beethoven, Bellini, Handel, and Rossini; and the military bands enlivened the air without with marches and polkas.

"After the flowers and the music, came the grand display of the waterworks, the first of the kind ever attempted in this country on a scale of equal magnitude. We had heard of Versailles, and to our sorrow and shame had seen the fountains in Trafalgar-square; but no untravelled Briton had ever seen a whole series of magnificent basins, each throwing dozens of jets of sparkling water sixty or seventy feet into the air, until the genius of Sir Joseph Paxton wooed the waters of the Thames and its tributaries to the top of Sydenham hill. The task has been one of immense difficulty and cost, but the result, even as yet incompletely developed, is a complete success, and was so pronounced by the thousands who witnessed the display of Saturday last. The play of the water was strong, steady, and continuous, for upwards of an hour; and the effect was of a novel kind of beauty, the jets as they foamed, feathered,

and sparkled in the air, producing never-ending, quaint resemblances."

The whole scene is, indeed, almost literally described in Pope's charming, but not very successful, imitation of Cowley:—

"Here lilies smile in virgin robes of white,  
In thin address of superficial light,  
And varied tulips show so dazzling gay,  
Blushing in bright diversities of day:  
Here aged trees cathedral walks compose,  
And mount the hill in venerable rows:  
There in bright drops the crystal fountains play,  
By laurels shaded from the piercing day,  
Where summer's beauty 'midst of winter stays,  
And winter's coolness spite of summer's rays."

On Monday, a concert was given at the Palace, at which Madlle. Albani was to have sung, but was prevented by illness. The performers, however, included Mesdames Jenny Baur, Amedei, and Fiorentini; Messrs. Fornes, Lorenzo, Charles Hallé, Ernst, Bottesini, and Salvi.

#### THE LORD-LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND UPON TENANT-RIGHT.

A DEPUTATION from the corporation of Dublin waited on the Lord-Lieutenant last Friday to endeavour to elicit his Excellency's opinion upon the subject of tenant-right. In the address which was read, the deputation thus set forth their ideas with respect to the desired reform:—

"We ask, in the name of the tenantry of Ireland, no legislation that will fail to secure to the owner of the soil all his just and legitimate rights. What we do ask is a legal guarantee that the industrious occupier of the soil, who may have improved his holding, shall have that full protection for, and perfect enjoyment of, the fruits of his own labour and capital, which constitute the basis on which the security of property in these kingdoms rests; and we would urge upon your Excellency that this legal protection for the property of the occupier is no less essential for the due encouragement and promotion of agricultural enterprise in this kingdom than it is for the peace of the country and the contentment and prosperity of all classes of Her Majesty's subjects."

To this, the Lord Lieutenant read the following reply:—

"My Lord Mayor and Gentlemen,—I must always feel indebted to the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of Dublin for imparting to me their views upon any topic of adequate contemporary importance. Such a character necessarily attaches to any attempt to regulate or improve the relations between the owners and cultivators of the soil. I shall not fail to transmit for the consideration and encouragement of Her Majesty's Government the views which you have now expressed. I find with pleasure that they have manifested their sense of the benefit to be expected from an early settlement of the question, by their having taken charge of the bill already introduced into Parliament; and I cordially concur in the hope that it may be so framed and acted upon as to secure to the owners of land their legitimate right, and to the occupiers the fair enjoyment of the fruit of their industry."

Upon the Lord Mayor expressing a hope that Dr. Gray, the mover of the address, would be satisfied with his Excellency's reply, Dr. Gray said that he was satisfied so far as the assurances of the Lord-Lieutenant were concerned, but that he was apprehensive that the amendments suggested by Mr. Horsman might be adopted by Government and carried—a result which would not be in accordance with his Excellency's observations. He suggested that perhaps the Lord-Lieutenant would make to the Government certain representations founded on his experience of the country, and on the fact of the commercial deputation which he had that day received. The clauses proposed by Mr. Horsman would have the effect of confiscating the property of the tenant.

The Lord-Lieutenant declined to enter into details, but he trusted that the general principles to which he had referred would be carried out to the satisfaction of all parties.

After some further discourse the deputation retired.

#### AMERICA.

THE *National Intelligencer* (U. S. journal) has published a long letter from Horatio Perry, Secretary of Legation at Madrid, vindicating himself from the charges brought against him by Mr. Soule, and accusing him of misbehaviour. Accounts from Upper Missouri represent the Sioux Indians as very hostile, and assembling for war against the whites. Colonel Steptoe has failed in bringing to punishment the Indian murderers of Captain Gunnison and his companions, owing to the duplicity of the Mormons, who persuade the redmen that they (the Mormons) are a distinct people from the Americans. The Californian Legislature has discussed the question of dividing California into three distinct states, to be called California, Colorado, and Shaston; and it is

thought that if this design be accomplished, slavery will not be introduced. From Guyana we learn that the sugar crop is likely to fall very short this season, owing to the great injury done to the canes by drought. There was a fair supply of provisions, a large stock of sugar, and a heavy lumber market. A portion of the troops in St. John's had revolted, and, after causing a scene of terror for a night, laid down their arms on obtaining a curtailment of their term of enlistment. A New Orleans report speaks of a revolution having broken out in Rio Grande, Mexico. Havannah advices up to the 15th ult. represent the island of Cuba as tranquil, and mention the probability of the blockade of the ports being soon raised. A jealous feeling is rising between the states of Venezuela and New Grenada, and a war is thought probable. The former state accuses the latter of encroaching upon its territory. Some of the provinces of Costa Rica were being devastated by locusts; but flocks of sparrowhawks were preying upon and annihilating them.

As a specimen of the kind of "license" which some Americans "mean when they cry liberty," we append the ensuing paragraph from the *New York Daily Times*, where it appears under the head of "Arkansas Difficulties":—

"George S. Park, late of the Parksville Luminary, publishes a long letter in the *St. Louis Democrat*, in which he says that Stringfellow and Atchison have organised a secret association which are sworn to turn out and fight when called upon to do so, and which is to be governed by the following rules:—All belonging to it are to share in the damages accruing to any member when proscribed, even at the price of disunion. All are to act secretly to destroy the business and character of Northern men; and all dissenting from their doctrines are to be expelled from the territory. Western Missouri is to be held in constant terror. All the Whig and Benton presses are to be destroyed. The destruction of the hotel in Kansas city, with the presses at Lawrence, is decreed, and cannon is to be taken there to demolish them. The onslaught is not to stop until every Free-soiler is driven out of Missouri and Kansas."

The commercial advices from New York represent trade as having become a little more active. Money was easily obtainable.

#### THE CARLIST INSURRECTION IN SPAIN.

THE Spanish correspondent of the *Times*, under date of May 28, gives the following particulars of the Carlist rising:—"It is said that the Carlists have got possession of Alcaniz, a fortified place in Eastern Aragon, hard by the river Guadaloupe. Letters from Vittoria announce, on the strength of a telegraphic despatch from Saragossa, the capture, in the mountains of Soria, of a sum of money which was being conveyed to the Carlists. A battalion of light infantry has marched hence to-day (May 28) to Aragon. There are strong expectations of risings in the Maestrazgo. The insurrection is evidently spreading. In the Basque Provinces, the Foral deputation insists on that district being exempted from the *desamortization*, and holds rather threatening language to the Government in case of refusal. In Navarre, a meeting was to have been held for the same purpose, but the civil authorities prevented it. The Caspe faction has published a proclamation, ordering all former Carlist soldiers to take up arms, under pain of death. A number of Liberals had fled from the town, unable to resist, because the National Guard of that place is not yet armed." It must be recollected that the date of the above letter is earlier than those of the telegraphic despatches which we published last week. The *Madrid Gazette* of the 28th, contains a circular addressed by the Government to the bishops and clergy, ordering the former immediately to suspend all ecclesiastics who have figured or who now figure in the Carlist camp. Twenty-four persons were arrested on the 29th at Madrid for participation in the Carlist plot. The *Gazette* of the 27th ult. contains a proclamation from the Alcade of Madrid, exhorting the inhabitants not to be misled by the enemies of public repose. The *Gazette* also says that the military authorities of Aragon were in pursuit of the Carlist band in that province; that twelve of the soldiers and a non-commissioned officer who had revolted at Saragossa had made their submission; and that a Carlist chief named Rollo had been killed near the Ebro, in Lower Aragon. The movement, which has everywhere the support of the clergy, is, it is said, headed by the three brothers Joaquim, Mariano, and Manuel Marco, whose rich and powerful family have been long known for their Carlist sentiments. Joaquim and Manuel had served in the army of General Cabrera. The Señores Marco are the nephews of the late Cardinal Marco, Auditor of the Rota, and Governor of Rome. Their band has been defeated; and a telegraphic despatch of the 31st ult. states that twenty-five of the rebels have been seized at Dierense, and twenty-five others have made their submission at Caspe. Yet Spain appears to be far from tranquillised; for we read of a conspiracy having been discovered on the frontier of Catalonia, which has been declared in a state of siege. The object of this conspiracy is to make the Carlists masters of the important fortress of Figueras. The same despatch which contains this intelligence mentions that Marsal,

one of Cabrera's old lieutenants, is concealed in the district of Lampurdan. Navarre and Biscay remain tranquil; but in other quarters new bands spring up directly the old ones are suppressed. Orders have been sent to the chiefs of columns in Aragon (from which province it is said the insurgents are disappearing) to shoot at once all the sergeants, and to detain the private soldiers, who have deserted to the Carlists. The Duke de Montpensier has repeatedly offered to take up arms against the rebels; but the Government do not think the contest is sufficiently serious to induce them to accept his offer. They have deemed it necessary, however, to suspend the constitutional guarantees.

#### CONTINENTAL NOTES.

RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION IN AUSTRIA.—John Evangelist Borzinsky, lately a brother of the Order of the Monks of Mercy, and belonging to a convent of that Order at Prague, is now, according to a letter in a German paper, imprisoned as a madman for having become a Lutheran Protestant. One of the concessions wrung from Imperial tyranny in 1848, was the permission given to members of the Romish Church to embrace the Protestant faith if they saw fit; but it appears that this amelioration of the former law is scandalously evaded, or rather defied, by the priests. The case of Borzinsky is an illustration. Having been told that the priests are in the habit of seizing and imprisoning any one whom they find to have apostatized, he went to Prussia, believing with some simplicity that the "crime" would be overlooked if committed out of the Austrian dominions. There he was received into the Lutheran Church; and shortly afterwards returned to his own country. But one night he was arrested by military and police agents, taken back to the convent, threatened, punished, and finally imprisoned with the insane in a dungeon adjoining the convent receptacle for filth. M. Von Bethmann Holweg, the celebrated Prussian statesman, has laid these facts before the Protestant Alliance, and has promised to do all in his power to rescue Borzinsky from captivity.

A circular, addressed by Count Buol to the representatives of Austria at the different German courts, and dated May 17, has been published. It is an answer to that despatch of Count Nesselrode to M. de Giers, which intimates the Czar's intention of abiding by the first Two Points. Count Buol, having stated that the Diet determined upon receiving the Russian circular as a simple communication to each of its members privately, in consequence of which the matter has not led to any deliberation in the Diet, proceeds to express the satisfaction felt by Austria at the resolution of the Court of St. Petersburg. The circular thus concludes:—"The four bases laid down for the negotiations of peace constitute an indivisible whole in the eyes of the powers that take part in them; the Germanic Confederation have acknowledged them as being collectively of a nature to secure peace and the rights of Europe; and it is only at the termination of the crises which the negotiations, opened with a view to conclude peace, are now, to our regret, undergoing, that Austria will be enabled to declare openly and completely to her confederates what, in her opinion, the interests of Europe and Germany may call for. We entertain the hope that the proposal of the Court of Russia has only served to confirm the members of the Germanic Confederation in their confidence in our policy. But for that very reason, we think we may rely upon their being averse to framing, upon the declarations of Russia, any resolutions or propositions, the consequences of which might be detrimental to Austria, or might at least tend to increase the numerous difficulties which we have to encounter in our mission, at the decisive point at which matters now stand." In addition to the above, there has been published another despatch from Count Buol, which contains an assertion that Russia seeks to provoke a schism between the German Governments. This document is also dated May 17, and addressed to the same official personages as the former. A letter from Berlin, published in the *Times*, contains the following summary of an Austrian circular dated the 25th ult.:—"Although in this circular Austria promises to remain faithful to her engagements, to maintain the Four Points, to preserve an armed attitude until the moment when negotiations may be resumed, and to make her last propositions, if accepted at Paris and London, the object of an ultimatum to Russia, although this and other similar declarations are made in this document, which will probably be the closing act of the Vienna negotiations, at least provisionally, it is equally certain that it betrays the intention of Austria, should her propositions be rejected, to assume an expectant line of policy. Any impartial reader of the document will come to this conclusion."

A *mémoire* (according to the assertion of the *Times* Correspondent) has been drawn up at St. Petersburg; the first part of which document emanates from the chancery of Count Nesselrode, while other parts "are attributed to a person of French origin, of considerable talent, but of small political probity." The chief purpose of this paper appears to be to work upon the fears of Austria, and the other German powers, by representing the French Emperor as a political incendiary, true to his origin from the people, and therefore disposed to rouse the nationalities against the hereditary monarchs. In support of these views, the writer points to the nomination of NE-



Walewski and Persigny, the formation of a foreign legion, the addresses recently received by Napoleon from the Poles, and the publication of those addresses in the French official organ. The French Emperor is taunted with having proved himself "impotent" in the Crimea, and with desiring to find another battle-field. It is then suggested that the only protection against this danger is for the German Cabinets, and more especially those of Vienna and Berlin, to ally themselves with Russia, and thus annihilate these revolutionary movements. But, even without such an alliance, Russia is prepared to accomplish her duty as a "Conservative power."

Great sensation has been caused in Hanover by the demand of Count Reulot, the French envoy, for permission to march a body of Imperial troops through the Hanoverian territory, considerable inconvenience having been felt last year in sending them by sea. It is thought that the Hanoverian Government will grant the request. A similar request will, it is anticipated, be made to Prussia.

The execrable piece of despotism by which the Hamburg Senate sought to extinguish the liberty of the press, and of which we gave an outline last week, has, contrary to our expectations, been rejected by the Bürgerschaft, or Lower House, by an immense majority. We confess we were not prepared for such a result; but we rejoice in it none the less. The representatives of the people have done themselves immortal honour, and have vindicated their claim to be considered among the few guardians of German liberty. The conduct of the Senate has been singularly shabby and disreputable. Taking advantage of the absence of several members of the Bürgerschaft, owing to the Whitsuntide holidays, they suddenly—that is to say, with only four days' notice—presented not merely this bill for the extinction of the press, but several very heavy money bills. Their designs, however, have happily been defeated.

A correspondent of the *Daily News* writing from Hamburg on the 1st of June says:—"The Hamburg police authorities have thought proper to seize a British subject on suspicion of being engaged in enlisting recruits, and incarcerate him in the prison called the Winerbaum. Whether there is any evidence against him, I am unable to say at present; but, on the case becoming known to Colonel Hodges, the British Consul-General and Chargé d'Affaires, he, with his usual spirit and determination of character, has taken the matter in hand, and requires him to be set at liberty, not only as being a British subject, but as belonging to her Majesty's war-steamer Otter, Lieutenant Glover, now lying in the Elbe. If the Hamburg authorities make any difficulties about giving him up, and indemnifying the supposed agent for false imprisonment and loss of time, it is not unlikely that our spirited consul will telegraph home to have a few British steam corvettes sent to the Elbe; and the very mention of the name of a blockade will probably be sufficient to bring the authorities here to reason."

The insurrection of the Cossacks of the Ukraine (says a letter from Brussels quoted in the *Times*), instead of being suppressed, is said, on the contrary, to assume greater proportions. If I may credit what is affirmed here by persons said to be well informed, it extends to some 20,000 men or more, most of whom are armed. These accounts coincide with others which give a sad description of the condition to which the inhabitants are reduced in several parts of the Russian empire by the exigencies of the war. I am decidedly of opinion that if the insurrection continues, or increases, it ought to change our system of carrying on the war, as well as modify our policy. If we considered it to be our duty to sacrifice the Polish and Tartar nationalities to the hope of obtaining the alliance of Austria, ought we not to alter our system at a moment when, on the one hand, Austrian alliance seems to be indefinitely adjourned—when Germany arms the federal fortresses which are more contiguous to France than to Russia—and when, on the other hand, the Polish and Tartar provinces, whose spirit is not to be doubted, may find themselves united by the instrumentality of the Ukraine revolt? In such case, nearly one-half of the Russian empire would be on our side.

The assent of the King of Sardinia has been given to the Convent Bill; so that measure has now become the law of the land, and a list of the convents intended to be suppressed under its provisions having been already prepared, will be shortly published. The Legislative session of 1854-5 has been closed.

THE LORD MAYOR IN PARIS.—Lord Mayor Moon, what with "the hereditary honour of a baronetcy" and the grateful incense of Lord Campbell's saponaceous shaft, seems to have fairly lost his head. He is now in Paris, enjoying the hospitalities of the Hôtel-de-Ville. On Wednesday morning he visited the Exposition in full array, much to the astonishment of the promeneurs in the Champs Elysées. The sword-bearer and glass coach were indeed absent, and for the honour of our civic buffoonery this was regrettable. It is said that some French priests saluted his lordship under the impression that he was a cardinal legate a latere, and only discovered their mistake upon finding that he did not understand a single word of either French or Latin. The day was splendid and luna sereno celo fulgebant.

DEFAMATION OF CHARACTER.—A curious point of law has arisen at Berlin. Gervinus's *Histoire du Dix-neuvième Siècle* has lately appeared, and the first volume contains a passage, stating that the Princess de Dino has

been seen riding on a crupper behind Cossacks. This the princess (now the Princess de Sagan) considers derogatory of her dignity, and has petitioned the king for the suppression of the work. That, however, not being feasible, she is about to commence an action for defamation. The standard of morality in the Teutonic blue blood seems to have been raised since the days of Catherine of Anhalt-Terbst. Then they were not particular to a Cossack or two.

The last plan of Austria for the settlement of the Eastern question is said, by a writer from the spot, to have proposed a special treaty between the Porte and Russia, which should determine the question of the limitation of the Russian and Ottoman forces in the Black Sea, with the obligation of a sort of European guarantee in favour of Turkey, in case of any attempt by Russia against her integrity or independence.

A telegraphic despatch from Cagliari announces the death of the Bey of Tunis on the night of the 1st of June. His successor and cousin, Sidi Mohamed Bey, ascended the throne without obstacle.

"Martial law proclaimed in the Principalities, and Bucharest in a state of siege (says a letter from Constantinople of the 24th ult.), have produced here a most painful effect. Count Coronini acts precisely as if he were in a conquered country. Lord Stratford must now repent having urged the Porte to the Convention of the 15th of June, which, as I have often told you, has been considered as a second treaty of Balta-Liman."

Letters from Oporto, with regard to the approaching crop of grapes in the Douro, continue to express unfavourable anticipations from the progress of the vine disease. The season is stated to be three weeks more backward than usual, and uncertain weather still prevailed. It is also asserted that the vines look much weaker, and the show of fruit is small and sickly, and that the odium is general throughout the country, and at least a fortnight earlier than last year.

Mr. CHARLES BRAHAM gave a concert at the Salle Herz, Rue de la Victoire, Paris, on Tuesday evening last, for the purpose of introducing himself to a Parisian audience. The attendance was numerous and brilliant, and the impression produced by Mr. Braham unequivocal. Mr. Braham's voice is an extremely rich and pure tenor; he sings with taste, and his career in Italy has tended to develop his considerable dramatic power. In singing some of Tamberlik's choicest *morceaux* from *Il Trovatore* to a select Paris audience needed some courage; but Mr. Braham passed through the trial successfully. It was whispered about the Salle that Rossini had placed himself in a private box, but if so, the stores were rigorously kept down. Mr. Braham, it is said, will be offered an engagement at the Grand Opera next season.

A letter dated "Constantinople, May 25," written by an eminent functionary there, contains details which may be found particularly interesting by all those who have taken part in the last loan. It appears that the late Seraskier's party is actively intriguing at Constantinople. Reschid Pacha, instead of setting out for his post at Vienna, prefers remaining on the spot, hoping for a speedy revenge. In the meanwhile he pockets 125,000 piastres per month as ambassador in *partibus infidelium*, whilst his second son, First Secretary of the Embassy, gets 30,000, and Seli Bey, the youngest, 15,000 piastres per month. All this time, Omar Pacha and his valiant army are left without pay; the sum due to these brave soldiers amounts to fifty-four millions; and certain corps of the army have not yet received a farthing for twelve or even eighteen months. As for the new cabinet, it continues "a faire le mort," awaiting the arrival of Aali Pacha from Vienna. In a postscript, the writer adds:—"I have just been informed of the acceptance by Aali Pacha of the high post offered to him."—*Daily News*.

Brigandage continues in Greece. Thessaly is agitated.

#### ASCOT RACES.

THE Ascot Races this year have proved a failure. Her Majesty did not, according to usual custom, honour the scene with her presence; the attendance of members of the aristocracy was but thin in comparison with that on which we are wont to reckon; and during the morning of Tuesday the weather was dull and cheerless. Towards evening, however, the sun burst forth; "and all the clouds which lowered upon the race" gave way, and revealed a bright blue sky for the conclusion of the day's sport.

Annexed will be found a list of the chief stakes and of the winning horses:—

#### TUESDAY.

The Trial Stakes, of 50 sovs. each, with 50 added; won by Mr. Parr's Coroner.

Seventh Ascot Triennial Stakes, of 10 sovs. each, with 100 added; won by Mr. Bower's Fly-by-Night.

Sixth Ascot Triennial Stakes, of 10 sovs. each, with 100 added; won by Mr. Osbaldiston's Claret.

The Ascot Derby Stakes, of 50 sovs. each; won by the Duke of Bedford's Pugnator.

The Ascot Stakes, of 25 sovs. each; won by Mr. Parr's Mortimer.

Her Majesty's Gold Vase, added to a Sweepstakes of 20 sovs. each; won by Mr. Howard's Oulston.

The Welcome Stakes, of 20 sovs. each, with 50 added; won by Mr. Adkin's Flatterer.

Sweepstakes of 50 sovs. each. This did not produce a race.

#### WEDNESDAY.

Fifth Ascot Triennial Stakes, of 10 sovs. each, with 100 added; won by Mr. Walker's Winkfield.

The Fern-Hill Stakes, of 15 sovs. each; won by Mr. Adkin's Flatterer.

The Royal Hunt Cup, value 200 sovs., by subscription of 10 sovs. each, with 100 added; won by Lord Clifden's Chalice.

Sweepstakes of 15 sovs. each; won by Mr. Stanley's Contention.

The Coronation Stakes, of 100 sovs. each; won by the Duke of Bedford's Ayleone.

Handicap Plate, of 100 sovs.; won by Mr. J. Merry's Catastrophe.

Her Majesty's Plate, of 100 guineas; won by Mr. Parr's Saucebox.

#### THURSDAY.

The St. James's Palace Stakes of 100 sovs. each; won by Lord Derby's Paletot.

The Visitors' Plate (Handicap) of 100 sovs. each, by subscriptions of 5 sovs. each; won by Lord Wilton's Shoreham.

The New Stakes of 10 sovs. each, with 100 added; won by Mr. Fitzwilliam's Milton.

Sweepstakes of 50 sovs. each; won by Mr. Greville's Antoinette.

The Gold Cup, value 300 sovs., by subscriptions of 20 sovs. each, with 200 added from the fund; won by Lord Zetland's Pandango.

The Windsor Castle Stakes of 10 sovs. each, with 50 added; won by Lord Derby's Professor.

#### FRIDAY.

First-Class Wokingham Stakes; won by Acrobat.

Sweepstakes of 50 sovs.; won by Poor Player.

Members' Plate; won by Ida.

Second-Class Wokingham; won by Palmerston.

Great Western Stakes; won by Chalice.

Fifty Pound Plate; won by Humboldt.

#### OUR CIVILISATION.

SAMUEL SEAL, who was last week charged at the Mansion House with unlawfully possessing a quantity of granulated gold, was on Saturday brought up for further examination, and again remanded.

A MONEY-LOVING INAMORATO.—Robert M'Laren, a smooth-faced youth, of barely twenty, having been brought up from his early years with a Miss Mary Ann Hill, forms an attachment, apparently of a tender kind, and promises to marry the said Mary Ann. This is agreed to on all sides, including parents and friends; and the thing is talked about as a settled matter. On Wednesday week the young lady became of age, and received, under the will of her grandmother, a legacy of 200*l.*, which was paid to her in two one hundred pound notes. One of these notes Miss Hill at once handed over to the swain, who appears to have thereupon vanished with mysterious suddenness, leaving Miss Hill to get home from the City the best way she could by herself. Some time afterwards, however, he called at her mother's house, and stated that he wanted to purchase a cab business, for which it was necessary that he should have an additional five-and-twenty pounds. Miss Hill, in consequence, handed over to him the other hundred pound note, and received what she supposed to be seventy-five sovereigns in exchange; but a subsequent examination showed that there were only fifty-seven. On Thursday week M'Laren left the neighbourhood; on Sunday evening he was given into custody; and on Monday he appeared at the Lambeth Police-court. Miss Hill then admitted that she had placed the change which had been given her in a very strange place—namely, between the rafters in the coalhole of the house, to which several persons have access, and that she had not previously counted the sovereigns. The prisoner's own father, however, appeared against him, and stated that, although only a week before he had promised his mother on her death-bed that he would marry Miss Hill, he now openly declared that he would do no such thing. The father also stated, or acknowledged in answer to questions, that his son had already undergone six months' imprisonment for felony. Two other witnesses spoke to having heard the prisoner say that he had received the money, and that it was not his intention to marry Miss Hill. On the other side, a friend was called to show that M'Laren had, in fact, purchased two cabs and two horses; but certain circumstances seemed to render it probable that he was paying court to the witness's daughter, though this was denied. The youth was remanded for a week. Some rather edifying specimens of "Our Civilisation" are offered in this case: a lover who gets money from his sweetheart and deserts her; a young lady who gives her "intended" into custody after a few days' suspicion; and a father who voluntarily appears against his own son, in order to secure his committal.

ROBBING HIS MOTHER.—A young man was on Monday remanded for a week, at the Thames Police-office, for robbing his mother. The mother said—"He comes home at night swearing and kicking at the door if it is closed upon him, and he has sworn he will do me some injury if he is not admitted; in fact, he has more than once broken open the door, and forcibly taken possession of victuals intended for his brothers and sisters."

**A LAMENTABLE CASE.**—Edward Stanley, who has been remanded since the 23rd of last month, was on Tuesday sentenced to a month's imprisonment for a previous assault upon his wife. He was drunk at the time of the offence, and so was the woman; indeed, it appeared from the evidence that the wife was a confirmed drunkard, and that the conduct of the husband had been sober and creditable previous to his marriage. The wife, who had been confined to the hospital on account of her injuries, now admitted that the fault was hers, declined to press the charge, and entreated the magistrate not to send her husband to prison. All she could obtain, however, in the way of mercy, was an intimation that, but for what she had candidly confessed, the prisoner would have been sentenced to a much longer term. The woman then left the court crying.

**A "TICKET-OF-LEAVE" MAN.**—The following case, exhibiting the wretched, and even dangerous, working of the "ticket-of-leave" system, was alluded to in the House of Lords on Thursday evening by Lord Lyndhurst:—Thomas Jones, aged twenty-three, a returned convict on "ticket-of-leave," was charged at Bow-street on Wednesday with using indecent language to a constable. The officer stated that, after himself and other officers had quelled a disturbance in Drury-lane, the prisoner followed him for the purpose of abusing him, and he never heard more shocking language used in the public streets in his life.—Mr. Jardine said the language must have been bad indeed to shock a policeman. It formed a striking contrast, no doubt, to the sentiments expressed by the prisoner in his interviews with the chaplain of the prison from which he had obtained his "ticket-of-leave." On these occasions, it appeared, the adoption of a hypocritical tone and a canting expression of countenance (which the worst of them were capable of assuming when it served their purpose to do so) sufficed to obtain their discharge before the expiration of half the term of the original sentence, with the further advantage of a written character, enabling them to impose upon the public. Why, he had not presided there any day for some time past without having to dispose of some charge against a "ticket-of-leave" man. The neighbourhood of the court who had returned to their old haunts and to their former course of life. In order, however, to avoid the personal consequences, they usually employed boys and women to assist them; and these were constantly apprehended while the principal delinquents escaped altogether.—Mr. Jardine committed the prisoner to seven days' imprisonment.

#### NAVAL AND MILITARY NEWS.

**THE CRESSUS.**—We regret to learn that the burning of the Cressus was much more fatal than at first believed. The muster roll having been lost with the ship, the extent of the loss of life amongst the troops was not known until some time afterwards. It appears that instead of eight, as at first stated, sixty-eight individuals perished, of whom all were soldiers, with the exception of one, who was a sailor on board the unfortunate vessel.—*Malta Times.*

**MR. BALFOUR,** Fourth Lieutenant of the Euryalus, now serving in the Baltic, has been tried by court-martial for using abusive language to, and striking, Mr. Bathurst, the Second Lieutenant of the same ship. The sentence of the court was that Lieutenant Balfour be dismissed her Majesty's navy.

**CAPTAIN SWEAROF,** of the Russian Engineer Artillery, who was captured at Bomarsund last year, and sent from the Devonshire, receiving-ship for Russian prisoners, to Lewes, has been granted his liberty to return to Bomarsund with his wife, the latter having been, during her stay in this country, in a very delicate state of health. Captain Swearof arrived at Sheerness on Monday evening, with his wife; and a Russian soldier, who has been his servant for many years, has had his liberty also granted to him to accompany his master. The Admiralty have ordered a passage, with cabin accommodation, for Captain Swearof and his wife, on board the Russell, Captain F. Scott.

**FOUNDERING OF A TRANSPORT STEAMER.**—Intelligence was on Wednesday received at Lloyd's of the foundering of the transport steamer Imperatrice, while on her voyage from London to the Crimea, with shot and shell. This disastrous occurrence took place on Tuesday evening, off Dungeness, by collision with the Belgian schooner Commerce, which lost her bowsprit, and received other damage. The crew of the Imperatrice was fortunately saved, and landed, with a few of her stores, at Deal.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

**DEATH OF THE DEAN OF CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD.**—Dr. Gaisford died on Saturday at Oxford, after a few days' illness. Congestion of one lung, and of the brain, is understood to have been his disease. The *Times* remarks:—"Dr. Gaisford's services to literature as a first-rate critical Greek scholar are great. He is one of the very few classical scholars of the present day whose reputation is European. On the Continent, his name is

even better known and more highly honoured than in England. In England the recondite nature of his labours, rarely devoted to popular or even well-known authors, has prevented his merits from being appreciated by the public at large to anything like the same extent that they are by scholars. His edition of *Herodotus*, published in 1840, and his *Lectiones Platonice*, his earliest work, published in 1820, are almost his only contributions to popular classical literature. The great labours of his life—his *Ovidas* published in 1834; his *Etymologicum Magnum*, published in 1848; and his *Theodoret*, published in 1854—are of an order which even common scholars do not appreciate. No doubt, however, can be entertained that, as a Professor, Dr. Gaisford has been the most distinguished of the whole Oxford body for many years, and that it will be no easy matter to supply his place. Dr. Gaisford was delegate of the University press, and practically had the chief direction of it. He was also Fellow of the Royal Academy at Munich, and corresponding member of the Institute of France."—The Rev. H. G. Liddell, Head Master of Westminster School, has been appointed by Lord Palmerston to succeed Dr. Gaisford as Dean of Christ Church.

**THE BATH ELECTION.**—Mr. Tite, the Administrative Reformer, has been returned for Bath by a majority of fifty; the numbers being—Tite, 1179; Whately, 1129. At the nomination, Mr. Tite pledged himself in favour of the ballot and of the abolition of church-rates, and professed to be a Whig. Mr. Whately also called himself a Whig according to the Whig principles of '88; but he thought the Conservatives had lately done good service, and he was opposed to the ballot, to extension of the suffrage, and to depriving the Church of the rates by which her fabrics are maintained. Nevertheless, he claimed to be considered an Administrative Reformer.—We have received the following from a private correspondent. His assertion as to the extreme purity of Bath must of course be taken *cum grano salis*. "The new member is not a very attractive person, either in manners or attainments. He is a rough diamond, and we hope will turn out a good honest member. There is not in the whole kingdom a constituency so thoroughly honest and independent as that of Bath. Every exertion was made by the Tory party to prevent a defeat; and now I believe they will give up the contest."

**LORD GODERICH ON THE WAR AND ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM.**—On Thursday week, Lord Goderich was entertained at Huddersfield by his constituencies at a public luncheon. In the evening a meeting was held, at which his Lordship, in a speech which occupied three hours and a quarter, explained his opinions on the present state of the nation, on the necessities arising out of the war, and on the question of Administrative Reform. He advocated a vigorous prosecution of hostilities, conceived that a more determined manner at the outset might have prevented the disasters that have followed, and held that we ought to say to Austria—"This is our ultimatum; take it or leave it." With the principle of Administrative Reform he entirely agreed; but he thought it would not be effected until members of Parliament, and more especially liberal members, forbore from place-seeking. He observed:—"Those who talk about Administrative Reform are scarcely, perhaps, aware of the wide bearing which their words have. I think I have shown you, by what I have said, that the task of carrying out effectual reform is not so easy and so simple, that it is not to be done by arraigning administrators at public meetings, but by the earnest co-operation, I may say, of every man in the country; and I believe, if what you mean is that the administration of the country shall be carried on, as we often hear the phrase, in the manner in which a private business is carried on, before you arrive at that condition of affairs you will find yourselves called upon to make far deeper and far wider changes than perhaps you now contemplate. I, for one, am prepared to face the consequences of my opinion."

**RELEASE OF THE REV. DR. H. GILES.**—On Monday last, Dr. Giles (who, it will be remembered, was convicted at the last Oxford Assizes of making a false entry in the marriage register book at Bampton), was discharged from Oxford Castle under the authority of the Queen's warrant. It is understood that, in consequence of the persevering efforts of the Bishop of Oxford, aided by memorials from large numbers of clergymen and gentlemen, her Majesty was pleased to extend her mercy and pardon to Dr. Giles at the expiration of three months from the period of his conviction.

**MISS JONES AND THE REV. R. SINGLETON.**—The application of Miss Jones for an affiliation order against the Rev. R. Singleton came on for a third hearing before the Stockton magistrates on Thursday week, when the magistrates unanimously agreed to make an order upon the reverend gentleman for the maintenance of the child.

**THE HOPWOOD WILL CASE.**—The reports which have been circulated as to the manner in which this case has been settled are to some extent untrue. The trial at Liverpool, it will be remembered, ended in a decisive verdict in favour of Captain Hopwood,—the jury having found that the alleged codicil of April, and will of May, 1853, were not the codicil and will of Mr. Hopwood. After the verdict, no attempt was made to obtain a new trial; which clearly shows that Captain Hopwood's opponents knew well that any application to

Vice-Chancellor Wood would be fruitless, or, if granted, that the same verdict would be given by any other jury. A proposition was eventually made to Captain Hopwood, that if he would not press for any of his own case against his opponents, all further proceedings should be carried on, and perfected by consent, instead of being conducted hostilely; and, on consultation with his counsel, and wishing to avoid delay, he yielded to the request. He has, therefore, to pay the costs and expenses incurred by himself (which are very heavy indeed), and the other parties have to pay all their own costs.

### Postscript.

LEADER OFFICE, Saturday, June 3.  
HOUSE OF LORDS.  
METROPOLITAN BURIALS.

THE BISHOP OF LONDON moved an address on the subject of the inadequate provision for burials in the metropolis, in consequence of the Act of 1852 closing old burial grounds before others were provided, and thus increasing the evil, which demanded an immediate remedy.

Earl GRANVILLE said the matter was under the serious consideration of the Government; upon which the motion was withdrawn.

THE EDUCATION OF POOR CHILDREN BILL was read a second time, and the House then adjourned.

### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE PRESS AT GIBRALTAR.

In answer to Mr. OLIVEIRA and Mr. BRIGHT, Lord J. RUSSELL stated that the ordinance issued by the Governor of Gibraltar, preventing the newspapers from publishing certain matters which he considered inconsistent with the public interests of that garrison, was an act which he had the power to perform; but the ordinance was under the consideration of the Government. The period of Sir Robert Gardiner's Governorship expired last Christmas; and although he was allowed to remain until the spring, his successor had now been appointed.

SIR W. MOLESWORTH AND MR. COBDEN.

Sir W. MOLESWORTH, on the motion that the House at its rising should adjourn to Monday, took the opportunity of answering charges made by Mr. Cobden against him, of inconsistency of sentiment between his speech on Tuesday last and those he made in the Pacific debate in 1850, and another made at Leeds in 1840. He denied that there was any inconsistency in his opinions, and he read portions of his speeches to show that he had expressed the same sentiments then as now, with regard to a war to be waged against Russia by England and France in alliance, in defence of Turkey. The passages so read were much cheered by the House.

Mr. COLLIER also explained that he never said, as was stated by Mr. Sidney Herbert, that the retiring members of Lord Aberdeen's Government were guilty of treason. He had never meant to impute any such conduct to those gentlemen.

### THE DEBATE ON THE WAR.

The adjourned debate on the prosecution of the war was resumed by

Mr. F. SCOTT, who was followed by

Sir F. BARING, who entered on the question of the reason of his bringing forward his amendment, and said that he had not inserted in it any notice of the conduct of the Government at Vienna, because the conferences had not closed, but the circumstances were changed now, and he would have changed his motion if it had been possible to do so in order to bring the matter to a real issue. As to Mr. Lowe's amendments, he objected to them as committing the House to a particular line of conduct on a single point in the negotiations leaving the rest untouched. A vote on either of the amendments could not show the real opinions of members of the House; and the debate, notwithstanding its length and apparent importance, was, in fact, a mere trifling with the country.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL urged the difficult position in which the Government was placed by the variety of its opponents, who had no feelings in common except a desire to attack Ministers. He commented in very strong terms on the language of Mr. Cobden, and charged him with taunting the people for their feeling in favour of the war, and degrading into what he termed mere populace that people whose aid he coveted in his Corn-Law struggle, because now they did not agree with his opinions. He vigorously assailed the speech of Mr. Bright, which he stigmatised as unworthy of the occasion, and characterised it as filled with stale jokes, wretched witticisms, and ribald jests. He spoke of the equivocal, not to say amphibious, position occupied by the party called the Peelites, and, in short, replied in very sharp phrase to most of the powerful speeches against Ministers and the prosecution of the war. He drew a vivid picture of the aggressive tendencies of Russia, illustrating it by references to her past history; and concluded by stating his opinion that her aggrandising spirit was



only to be met and turned back by the vigorous armed interference of the Western Powers, and he pressed on the House the necessity and the importance of leaving the mere quibbling on words in which they were now engaged, to unite in supporting those who were resolved to carry on the war with resolution and vigour.

Sir F. THESIGER commented on what he said was the real question before the House, namely, the conduct of the negotiations, which had ended so unsatisfactorily, a result entirely owing to the unhappy choice of Lord John Russell as the negotiator.

Mr. LLOYD DAVEY and Mr. BENTINCK having spoken.

Mr. CARDWELL earnestly deprecated the tone of the Attorney-General's speech, and defended himself and his ex-colleagues from the attacks made on them. He objected to all the amendments except that of Sir F. Baring, contending that the others tended to fetter the Executive, while that of Sir F. Baring only gave the Crown a general assurance of support at this critical juncture.

Mr. WALPOLE inveighed against the ambiguity in the language and the conduct of ministers, whose policy seemed to be always "drifting," whether it was towards war or peace, and he called on them to declare the terms on which peace would be accepted, the object being the vindication of justice in the case of Turkey. He then examined the proceedings of the Vienna Conference, and contended that the Russian proposal by which the Sultan was to be allowed to summon his allies into the Bosphorus when he was menaced by Russia, offered a solution of all difficulties, and should have been accepted. But as the negotiations were broken off, the question had assumed a new feature, and as regarded the present state of affairs all of the amendments were extravagant and unmeaning.

Mr. HORSMAN followed with a defence of the Government, but his speech was cut short by the impatience of the House.

Mr. DISRAELI then rose, and commenced by combating the notion which he had heard prevailed, that this was a dull and wearisome debate, declaring that it was one of the most important and best instances of any he had heard since he had a seat in the House. He then proceeded to vindicate the course he took in bringing in his motion a fortnight ago, saying that he did so on the ground that it was generally believed that the Government was on the point of concluding an inglorious and ignominious peace.

He then elaborately argued that the negotiations at Vienna had failed under the conduct of Lord John Russell.

Lord PALMERSTON defended at length the conduct of the Government, and declared his intention of vigorously prosecuting the war.

The amendments of Mr. PHILLIMORE and Mr. LOWE were first severally withdrawn.

The motion of Sir F. BARING was then put. Mr. WALPOLE rose and declared that it was so desirable that on an occasion like this the House should be unanimous, that he should vote for Sir F. BARING's motion.

Mr. GLADSTONE said that though he agreed with the words of the motion, it was on different grounds to that on which it was proposed. He did not think the motion worthy of the occasion, but having only a choice of difficulties he felt compelled to vote for it.

Sir F. BARING's motion was then agreed to without a division.

The House adjourned at half-past two.

#### THE FLEET BEFORE CRONSTADT.

Dantzic, Thursday.

To-day her Majesty's ship Bulldog, Capt. Gordon, arrived with mails from the fleet.

The British and French fleets were on the 4th instant close to Cronstadt.

The Russian ships were nearly all dismantled in harbour; only three steamers were serviceable. Admiral Saunders Dundas has been in the Merlin to get a nearer view of the fortifications and to satisfy himself as to the propriety of an attack; it is said that he thinks it impracticable. New works have been added since last year.

Sixteen Russian merchantmen, most of them loaded with timber, have been captured and destroyed near Cronstadt, and others run ashore and burned.

#### THE CRIMEA.

Private despatches from the camp of the 4th, transmitted by telegraph from Varna, state that new reconnaissances had been made, and a further advance was expected.

Madrid, June 6.

Espartaco has gone to lay before the Queen the resignations of Madoz, Lugan, Luzuriaga, Aguirre, and Santa Cruz.

Their supposed successors are Brull, Martinez, Zabala, Puenteandres, and Huervas.

#### THE CAMP AT ALDERSHOT.

It is stated to be the intention of the Queen to visit the camp at Aldershot to-day, on which occasion her Majesty will inspect the four regiments already stationed there.

A tremendous conflagration took place on Friday morning, about one o'clock A.M., on the premises of Messrs. Brockelbank, tallow merchants and melters, Aldersgate-street, City. The flames spread with alarming swiftness, and were not got under until the tallow warehouses were destroyed, and several adjoining edifices were severely injured. The cause of the fire is unknown. No lives were lost.

#### NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

W. R. recommends middle-class administrative reformers to commence the change at home by voting honestly. He has no faith in the disinterestedness of the middle classes.

G. A. F. thinks we do the counties scant justice in saying that the boroughs send all the good men we have to Parliament. We did not mean to be taken quite literally. But in the list which G. A. F. has been so good as to draw up for us, the chief ones, those of the West Riding and Middlesex, are obviously exceptions which prove the rule. Mr. Sidney Herbert's seat for Wiltshire has been precarious ever since he emancipated himself from the tyranny of class interests, and he will probably lose it next election. Sir Bulwer Lytton bought his seat for Hertfordshire by a disgraceful desertion of the cause which he had advocated in his more generous hour. Mr. Disraeli (whom our correspondent does not mention) bought his seat for Bucks by becoming the sycophant of the Most Noble the Duke of Buckingham, and basely betraying justice and the people to his aristocratic patrons. The state of the rotten county representation is, to our minds, the best answer to those who are disposed to regret the loss of the rotten boroughs on the ground that they afforded openings for men of talent.

## The Leader.

SATURDAY, JUNE 9, 1855.

### Public Affairs.

There is nothing so revolutionary, because there is nothing so unnatural and convulsive, as the strain to keep things fixed when all the world is by the very law of its creation in eternal progress.—DR. ARNOLD

#### THE WAR DEBATE.

THE result of the War Debate on our minds is this: we are now in the crisis of a campaign, and all considerations but that of victory are out of place. But the crisis will pass, and the nation must ask itself in earnest what are the real objects of the war.

The CECCHETTI case comes to show us, if anything was needed to show us, that we are not fighting for the liberty and civilisation of the world. Safe under the protection of our allies, Ultramontanism in Tuscany commits an act of the most outrageous religious tyranny before our face, and addresses to us the most insolent defiance. We leave the Evangelical Alliance and the Bible Societies to their own reflections on this occasion. Let them consider what their Protestant chivalry is worth. It is enough for us to note the light which this case throws on the European situation.

What, then, are we fighting for? Is it to prevent Russia from swallowing up all the great monarchies of Europe and attaining to universal empire? The results of Alma and Inkerman have pretty well dissipated this fear, which, in truth, was always illusory. Those whose imaginations are full of the old invasion of the Barbarians, confuse the migration of a horde with the extension of an empire. A horde may march without limit where it finds no resistance. An empire cannot be indefinitely extended. Even with the help of railroads the same sovereign could not reign long at St. Petersburg and Constantinople, much less at St. Petersburg and Paris. Russia can only advance in the East. There she has sympathies to aid her: in the West she has none. The Russian armies which conquered Hungary retreated immediately, though the country they had con-

quered was mainly Slavonic, and might therefore seem easier of absorption. We cannot annul the affinity between the Greek Churches of Byzantium and Moscow, nor the political consequences of that affinity. But the league of Greek priests is incomparably less formidable to us than the league of Roman priests, which in fact it serves to counterbalance. Whatever else we may be fighting for, there can be no doubt that we are fighting in the cause of the POPE.

Suppose the Turkish dominion thrown off by the Greeks, with the aid of Russia. A Greek empire, not a Russian empire, would rise at Constantinople. The Greeks, we are told, are rogues. Perhaps so. Most slaves are. But they are not Ultramontanists. They are very commercial, and commerce, in the long run, is the parent of liberal ideas. The power of their priesthood over them even now is not great. The revival of their ancient tongue, or of the study of that tongue, must familiarise their educated classes with a great Republican literature. Brought within a fortnight or less of London and Paris by steam, they would be open to the full light and heat of Western civilisation. If Russia, with her Protectorates and Heterie, had anything to do with the formation of such an empire, she would have to sing *sic vos non vobis*.

As to the intrigues of Russia with the servile despots of Western Europe, they are infamous; and there are two ways of abolishing them. The one is to destroy Russia. The other is to destroy the despots, and raise in their stead national governments too strong in public opinion to need support from without, and too patriotic to seek it. We are doing nothing towards this. We are attacking a despotism which is a social necessity to a half-barbaric people. We are strengthening despotisms which are a conspiracy against the free development of civilised nations. Europe is hurling itself against Cronstadt and Sebastopol, in order that the tyranny of Emperors and Popes may not be encroached on by Czars and Patriarchs. NAPOLEON said that Europe must be either Republican or Cossack. Cossack or Napoleonist is much the same. Republican is another thing.

The Russian despotism we say is a social necessity. It is the object of sincere, though slavish affection to the Tartar populations. It has organised an empire, repressed the Boyards, and diminished serfage. If it fell, Boyardism alone would profit by its fall. It has replaced nothing better; it excludes nothing better; and therefore in itself it is no wrong. Its crime and its folly is to be propagandist. The offence which it is now expiating in our eyes is the invasion of Hungary. This aggression at least will hardly be repeated. We commend this reflection to those of our Liberal friends who are inclined to sympathise with Russia, and who, we admit, would otherwise have nothing to choose between MENSCHIKOFF and ST. ARNAUD.

Then comes Lord JOHN, with the destiny of nations in his hands, and tells us that men are being killed at the rate of half a million per annum, because Sebastopol is a standing menace to Constantinople. In eighteen hours, shrieks his Lordship, the garrison of Sebastopol may be under the walls of the Turkish capital. Then let the Turks man the walls. If they cannot, it is because they are not a nation, and all the protocolling about their independence and integrity are a fatal hypocrisy, to which it is miserable to think we are committed. As to "standing menaces" in the abstract, if they are to be a cause of war, why do not we go and dismantle the French fortresses, or fortify and occupy Brussels?

We are not the enemies of the Russian people. Our only desire is that they should advance as rapidly as the laws of human progress will allow, and become one of the free and civilised nations of the world. To hate them for being in an early stage of political development is as irrational as to hate a foal for not being a horse, or a sapling for not being a tree. When they become the instruments of aggression and injustice in the hands of their autocrat, as they were in the case of Poland and Hungary, they must be repressed; but the wish to drive them back into barbarism would be equally brutal and insane. The defeats which their armies have experienced are not likely to injure the nation: on the contrary, they may cure the Czars of their extravagant military ambition, and teach them to return to their natural task of developing the internal resources of their people. In their defeats, therefore, we may feel a joy only tempered by that pity which every field of carnage must excite. But as to the Russian people, we wish to see them conquered in the interest of humanity by intelligence, not with the sword.

Some men, even Liberals, think the French alliance, in spite of the character of the French Government, a sufficient indemnification to us for the war. If it is an indemnification, it is not a justification. But we doubt whether the result of the war will be to place us permanently on a better footing with our neighbours. New scenes of rivalry, hitherto closed by Russian occupation, will be opened to us in the East, as Mr. DRUMMOND with the licensed freedom of eccentricity intimated to the House, which was too discreet otherwise to approach the subject. The old questions between Despotism and Liberty, Ultramontaniam and Protestantism, will still remain in the West. The present enthusiasm is somewhat hysterical. The old *entente cordiale* was less brilliant than our present connexion, but perhaps it was also less brittle.

In short, the more we reflect on this struggle, the more convinced we feel that liberalism and humanity have very little to hope from it,—nothing that can at all counterbalance the social, political, and financial evils of war. And therefore, what we desire is a speedy victory, which will redeem our honour, save our prestige among the Eastern nations, and open the Danube and the Black Sea, though it will not render the powers of good much stronger, or the powers of evil much weaker in the world. Victory gained, we pray for the return of peace, the renewal of political progress here, and of preparation elsewhere for a nobler struggle.

#### THE NATION OF REFUGEES.

"THE Polish question" must be considered under two aspects. First, can England engage in such a struggle with Russia as shall end in dismembering that Empire, and effacing the political landmarks of a hundred and fifty years? Secondly, is there sufficient vitality and coherence in Poland to restore it to a place among independent nations? These are grave inquiries, and it is not for mere enthusiasm to answer them. The object proposed is doubtful; the means of attaining it are synonymous with a crusade against the existence of Russia, as a first-rate power. Generous Englishmen, therefore, as well as importunate refugees, must admit that the point should not be hastily decided, for the demand of the Poles is nothing less than that we should invite trial by fire, and march over the body, not of Russia only, but of Confederate Germany for the sake of reviving

Poland, and consolidating the tranquillity of Europe. It will not be disputed, that to attempt the permanent and recognised separation of Poland from Russia, would be to wage a mortal conflict with the most powerful military state in Europe. Whatever forces could be despatched from the body of the empire would still leave a large and prolific dominion to be exhausted and reduced by war. This part of the argument, therefore, may be left out of view. We have heard no serious politicians affirm that Russia, if called on to annihilate herself, would easily and speedily respond to the invitation. Possibly, if despotism were concentrated in Russia, the event might be worth the cost. Indeed, it is hard to say what sacrifice would be too great really to effect the deliverance of mankind from that which baulks all its aspirations, and extorts from it a perpetual tribute to violence and oppression.

The practicability of the idea, as set forth by its ablest exponents, is not so clear as we should like to see it. Of the statements put forward by Poles, the best is the last, by General MIEROLAWSKI. In this lucid summary that general suggests the difficulties as well as the advantages of his proposal, though these difficulties he believes not to be insuperable. Poland of herself never can resume independence. This is a strong admission from a Pole, but it is a reply to the taunting counsel of half-willing friends. Moreover, the Poles could not rise until they had felt and proved the assistance offered to them. Their "social and national organism is at this moment decomposed—at least materially"—so that they lie helpless in Europe, waiting for an armament to be advanced into their territory, to bear the first shocks of the collision, and to form a centre for their new organisation.

General MIEROLAWSKI states a theory and a plan. His theory is simple. Russia is not a naval power, yet it is as a naval power that the Western Allies are assailing her. Sebastopol and Cronstadt are but arsenals prepared for her future maritime dominion, when she holds the supremacy of the Greek and Scandinavian marine. To reduce them would be to interfere with the preliminaries of her schemes, but not to reach her vital parts, or to paralyse her dangerous energies. She has already destroyed one of her own fleets; and when France and England, in destroying her forts, have sacrificed each an army, the injury to them will be worth the cost to her. In Poland is the basis of her power.

To create in Poland a liberal state from the wreck of the Russian Empire, MIEROLAWSKI proposes that Odessa and Riga should be captured by the Allied forces, as ways of approach to the interior. Thence a concentric line, along the vast isthmus between the Black and Baltic seas, would cut the plains of the Dwina and the Dnieper, and between these points a mass of living forces could be raised to cleave into pieces the Empire which Western Europe professes to fear. The Polish Emigration, armed and equipped by the Allies, transported to Riga and Odessa by their fleets, would pass from those places inwards, wakening the nations as they went. And here General MIEROLAWSKI's vision is brightened by the idea of more than half a million Polish soldiers marching under the old white and crimson flag, and reducing "Muscovy" to its ancient proportions. But we could wish that the General had favoured us with some more definite information as to the means of transporting and provisioning an army across the dreary steppes of southern Russia. Nor are the Military Colonies to be despised that intercept the line of march, and which—on the authority of Lord DE

Ros—are capable of supplying a force of 27,000 heavy cavalry.

That Russia depends on her Polish provinces for many essential resources in peace and war is self-evident, but we should be glad to see a competent and impartial criticism on the figures of M. KOSSUTH and General MIEROLAWSKI. The General states that Poland, besides supplying grain to feed the Empire, horses to mount its cavalry, wood, tar, and hemp for its fleets, and wool and iron to clothe and arm its soldiers, yields the majority of those soldiers themselves. Moreover, it would be necessary to show that this army, long broken in to the Russian yoke, looks for a national signal, and believes in a national resurrection. It has been the policy of Russia to assimilate the conquered population with its own, to extirpate its traditions, to unite it in social alliances, to obliterate its identity, and merge it in the immense Slavonian race. The German sovereigns, also, have had their part in the work of compressing this nation with others, and of naturalising a foreign element on the Polish soil. It may be that the "political, religious, and social homogeneity of Poland" constitute, in part, that lever with which the Czars move the great frame of Germany; if such homogeneity actually exist, it might possibly be the sword with its point in the side of Russia, and its hilt offered to the first hand that shall vigorously and faithfully grasp it; but the remaining problem, which neither General MIEROLAWSKI, nor any other theorist, has solved, is, how may a dead body politic be restored to life—how may the state which was extinguished by Russia overwhelm Russia in its turn, in defiance of the two great German powers?

Geographically, it is easy to understand how Poland has added to the opportunities of Russia. Her territories rest on the seas of the south and north, and "cut Russia into three sections and Austria into two." They have added fifteen governments to the dominions of the Czar; and they partially link the fortunes of the vast Slavonian race in Eastern Europe to those of the House of Romanoff. But to declare a Polish crusade would be to give a direct challenge to the Austrian and Prussian courts. It is admitted that their consent never could be obtained. Consequently, a war for Poland must be a universal war, including not only an insurrection of peasants in the Ukraine, but an outburst in every part of Europe where revolution failed in 1848. Of this convulsion the responsibility would rest with the nation that provoked it—with Russia in the first instance, but with Great Britain also; and, unless it succeeded, history would count it among the crimes of selfishness and despair.

At present the British Government is clearly resolved not to widen the field of the war, or to undertake the cause of the oppressed nationalities. The issue is to be diplomatic, not political. But it is as impossible to guide a long war, as it is to guide a great revolution. Among the chances of the times, therefore, is the apparition of a national Polish flag on the horizon of Europe. It may then be the policy of a wise nation to accept that new ally, and to enter into compacts with it. But were the Western Governments even disposed to strike at Russia through Poland, justice to the Poles, as well as sound discretion, requires that we should understand the capacities of the people which it is proposed to restore. Do they still form a separate and substantial nation which, when once raised, could continue erect? Is the whole of Europe to be summoned to a war of which no human foresight could predict the end, for the purpose, literally, of disarming and annihilating the Russian Empire?



## LIMITED LIABILITY IN PARTNERSHIP.

GOVERNMENT has made an important concession to public opinion in consenting to introduce the principle of limited liability in partnership. That principle has long existed in France under the name of partnership "*en commandite*;" and, without any special law upon the subject, practically it may be said to exist in all commercial countries, America included. In fact, England is not only the exception to the rule, but the exception by a specific interference with free trade. It is by the statute law of this country that all the members of any establishment are liable to the full amount of their property, though that property be distinct from the firm, and though they take no part in the transactions of the house. This applies as much to distinct subscriptions, or even to loans, where there is any sharing of profit or loss, as it does to what is understood by real partnership; and so difficult has it been for men to assist their friends in business under terms favourable to the recovery of the capital thus lent in case of risk, that a serious obstruction may be considered to have been continually enforced upon the available capital of the country. Notwithstanding the experience of a better law in other countries, however, the repeal of this invidious and mischievous class of enactments was opposed, on the ground that free trade thus applied would expose trade to dangers. There would be no confidence, it was said, in houses where members were not liable; and firms would become imprudent if their members were not pledged to the whole amount of their own means. To a certain extent these arguments were true; but the converse has also been eminently true. The law made many men prudent—ultra-prudent, perhaps—but it has made a still larger number reckless. It has driven capital out of ordinary business into railway speculations and foreign schemes. In fact, it has had the usual effects of all interference with the freedom of trade.

When arguments had been refuted it was easy to fall back upon the order of things, and to resist change because it was change. The partnership question was kept in the condition of a continual controversy, and those who were against the reform trusted that the public would thus be tired out. Not without some reason; for it is possible to defer reforms by rendering their efficacy tedious; and long experience in these things ought to make us Englishmen particularly aware of that cheap defence of abuse.

At last, however, the present Government has conceded the principle. Bills are introduced into the House of Commons for removing the restriction to a certain extent. Joint-stock establishments are enabled to secure a limitation of liability to the amount of the shares subscribed, if they fulfil conditions rendering that limitation sufficiently public; and individuals are permitted to advance capital, whether to such limited undertakings or to others that are not limited, or to individuals, without thereby incurring the liabilities of partnership. This is a great improvement; but by a singular perversity, full half the value of the measure is struck away by confining its application to joint-stock companies with an aggregate capital of 20,000*l.*, and with shares of not less value than 25*l.*; which is as much as to say that restrictions shall be removed from the increase of capital and assistance for the rich, but that small capitalists shall be denied the advantage; although the advocates of the reform have always kept in view the peculiar claims of small capitalists.

Amongst a numerous class of our own readers, the measure as it stands will occasion

blank disappointment. Ministers profess to be conceding the principle of limited liability, but they actually do not concede it at all to that numerous body. The position of some of the working classes is peculiar. Many have laid by moderate sums of money, which they would desire to invest; but while the facilities for investment have increased to the classes with better means, they have been positively diminished to the working classes. As commerce concentrates itself in larger undertakings, the smaller kinds of enterprise are abolished. The working man may by chance buy a share, or part of a share, in a railway; but he must be driven to very doubtful speculations in order to find anything that he can purchase. There only remains for him the savings bank.

Besides this denial of an investment, he labours under another grievance. He mistrusts the tradesmen of the class above him, and would like to take the business of trade more into his own hands. How can he do so? He can effect it by clubbing his means with his fellows. Our readers are familiar with an instance in which some of them are actually engaged—the People's Flour Mill at Leeds; an undertaking that has flourished conspicuously. The working classes, you say, can enter into undertakings of that kind. Not at all. The People's Mill was registered just in the nick of time; a more rigid construction of the Friendly Societies Act would have excluded it; and we doubt whether the working classes can imitate that partnership of limited liability. It was expected that the new measure would supply the deficiency; but relief is still denied.

## THE OLD AND THE NEW DEAN OF CHRISTCHURCH.

DR. GAISFORD, Dean of Christchurch, the best-known, if not the first of English scholars, has died in his seventy-seventh year. He was an excellent editor of Greek texts, though somewhat slavishly submissive to the authority of the manuscripts: a fault on the right side, but still a fault in cases where emendation is easy and obviously required by the sense. His text of *Herodotus* is considered by the Germans a "golden book." The two volumes of notes to it are an unsaleable compilation. In fact, he made very few exegetical notes of his own, partly perhaps from modesty and excessive deference for the old scholars. He belonged to the Porsonian epoch; but he showed little of Porson's taste or enthusiasm, and made no philological discoveries. We should rather compare him to his ally, DINDORF, but for DINDORF's late vagaries in the way of emendation. We can scarcely say that he was justly preferred as Professor of Greek to ELMSLEY, who was certainly a man of more taste and genius. He was a great benefactor to the poor neglected lexicographers and grammarians, such as HEPLISTON, SUIDAS, PROCLUS, and CHEROBOSCUS. We hope their shades will thank him in the lexicographical district of the Elysian Fields for a work which was somewhat thankless upon earth. He was Dictator of the University Press, which he managed admirably in a commercial point of view, and raised from penury to affluence, in spite of his own *Suidases* and *Cherobosci*, and the still more onerous brochures of some of his theological friends. We hope that his successor in the Dictatorship will choose his authors with a little less reference to their specific gravity, and a little more to the needs of the time.

As a scholar and editor, which was his proper vocation, DR. GAISFORD did his work on earth honestly and well, and his laborious and unambitious ministrations to classical literature entitle his memory to sincere

respect. As head of a great college, he was totally and fatally misplaced, and the college suffered accordingly. His manners, which are euphemistically called Johnsonian, were probably the result of his position as an academical bashaw, and of want of converse with the world. Those who knew him best asserted that they concealed a naturally kind heart. He was said to be not unversed in polite literature of the old school. He was an influential, though taciturn member of the old Hebdomadal Board, and had the sense and right feeling to accept a seat in the Reformed Council, though he was himself a bitter opponent of Reform.

His successor, the Rev. G. H. LIDDELL, now head master of Westminster, will be restored from the somewhat uncongenial duties of a schoolmaster to his proper sphere, where we believe he will exercise a great and beneficent influence. He is an excellent scholar, and part author of the standard *Greek Lexicon*; but he is a philosopher and a divine as well as a scholar, and to his intellectual powers and endowments he adds great capacities for the government of men. The accession of such a Head to the first College in Oxford at this critical moment is an event of no slight importance. It may turn the wavering scale in favour of progress and reform.

## IMPERIAL STOCK-JOBGING.

THE Paris correspondents of the London press have lately been complaining that certain telegraphic despatches from the Crimea have been kept back, either wholly or in part, for some time after they have been known to have arrived at the Tuileries. The French journalists have also observed the fact; a pardonable reticence has prevented them from commenting upon it. The oddest thing about the matter is, that the despatches in question are precisely those which, when they become public, exercise the liveliest influence upon the Bourse; and, to make the joke perfect, it is generally found, when the news does come out, that some mysterious person or persons have operated upon the market to no inconsiderable extent.

It is perfectly well-known that when LOUIS NAPOLEON lived in London, he got his living by doing a little stock-jobbing now and then; and, as he was occasionally able to pick up a crumb of information through his acquaintances there and connexions abroad, he is generally supposed to have made a little money that way. At that time a Corsican named ORSI was employed by him, and it was in his name that the transactions in Capel-court were carried on.

*That Corsican may now be daily seen very busily employed upon the Bourse and the Boulevards.*

The taking of Genetchi was announced in London by the Secretary to the Admiralty in time for late editions of the morning papers; but it was very late in the afternoon, and just about the close of the Bourse, that the *agence* Havas was selling the despatch as an important piece of intelligence to the various journals of Paris. So well was this managed, that the *Presse* of that afternoon said not a word about it.

During the whole of that day the transactions upon the Bourse were more than usually brisk.

Any one who walks into the garden of the Tuileries and sees the electric wires diverging from a small cabinet at the northern end towards every point of the horizon (looking like reins by which a single pair of hands may drive the world), will find it difficult to believe that the tenant of that cabinet could have been ignorant of that important piece

of news for an hour after its reception in London. What was to prevent him from receiving it simultaneously with our Secretary to the Admiralty?

This is but one instance out of many; but *ex uno disce—Sebastopol est pris.*

#### THE GIBRALTAR CENSOR.

THE Governor of Gibraltar has recently evinced the wildest ambition that we ever knew to seize a person in the capacity of Viceroy, wild as viceregalty often becomes. He has issued a proclamation, embodying an ordinance professedly to prohibit unlicensed printing within the State, the territory, and garrison of Gibraltar. The essential part of this order lies in the first paragraph:—

"Whereas it hath always been the custom of the garrison of Gibraltar that nothing should be printed therein without the permission of the Governor thereof; and whereas it is necessary to the order, peace, and good government of the city and garrison of Gibraltar that the said custom should immediately be made, enacted, and advanced, to be the law thereof, and should be established by proper penalties for the violation of the said law; be it, therefore, ordained and enacted by his Excellency the Governor, that no person shall, within the said city, garrison, and territory, print, or cause to be printed, any matter or thing which shall not have been previously submitted to the Civil Secretary of the said garrison, and have received his confirmation in writing, signed by him, under a penalty not exceeding one hundred dollars, and not less than five dollars, to be recovered before any justice of the peace for the said city, garrison, and territory, at the discretion of such justice."

Practically, therefore, the order requires that every article in any newspaper shall be revised before publication by the Civil Secretary, who stands, of course, only in the place of the Governor. What is this, but to enact that "his Excellency SIR ROBERT WILLIAM GARDINER, Knight Commander of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, Knight Commander of the Royal Hanoverian Guelphic Order, and of the Second Class of the Military Order of St. Anne of Russia, General of her Majesty's Forces, Colonel Commandant of the 4th battalion of the Royal Artillery, Governor, Vice-Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of the city, garrison, and territory of Gibraltar, &c., &c., &c.," claims to be the editor of every journal published in Gibraltar. We believe that Sir ROBERT WILLIAM GARDINER is an extremely good officer, and a very worthy man; the expiring of his term of service at Gibraltar has released him from a recal on account of this vagary, as well as others connected with the admission and departure of goods in the commercial port of Gibraltar; but the ordinance is of a kind that, if it be not challenged, it could be continued by Sir ROBERT's successor.

Now, challenged it must be. It is a very arbitrary interference with the rights of any British community; and it is needless as well as arbitrary. It has never been the custom in "the garrison of Gibraltar" that "nothing should be published without the permission of the Governor." The averment in the preamble is false. There is a printing establishment in Malta which has been in operation since 1841; and from that establishment no proof sheet was ever sent for the sanction and approval of the censor of the press. Officials, however, very often assert that which is ludicrously and notoriously false, simply that some new and arbitrary law may, in terms at least, have the appearance of being a continuation. And here was a case in point. While Sir ROBERT was about it, he might have enlarged the time of the immemorial custom here pleaded. He might have said that the custom had existed ever since HERCULES established that "pillar" to prevent the progress of mankind beyond the impassable Strait of Gibraltar.

There is no necessity for any such rule. It

is true that the Governor follows the custom of calling the place "the garrison of Gibraltar," but Gibraltar is not *only* a garrison: it is also a port of great commercial importance, though not of so great importance as it was before the commercial rise of Malta and the revival of Genoa. Being a commercial port, it is occupied by a resident English population, which has shown its intelligence in establishing those places of public worship and those schools, which ought to exist wherever Englishmen are located. It seems impossible that our Government can sanction the QUEEN's representative in the colony in cancelling the right of Englishmen to the free publication of opinion. The less, we repeat, since there is no military necessity. It may be a question quite separate from that of civil rights, whether outside opinions ought to circulate with freedom amongst a soldiery. We think that they ought; that if a soldiery be properly constituted and disciplined,—if the interests of the army be identified with those of the State, and the minds of the individual soldiers be trained to have a proper trust in their commanders, any class of subject could be discussed in the ranks, and the results be nothing but a strengthening of the spirit of unity and discipline. Nevertheless, the question does stand separate from merely civil considerations; but the lowest kind of discipline, the poorest species of influence, ought to enable any commanding officer to exclude unlicensed publications from admission to the soldier. The soldiery, therefore, might be kept in their state of infancy, without reducing the whole of the resident commercial population to the same tutelage.

There can be but one motive to compel his Excellency Sir ROBERT WILLIAM GARDINER, &c., &c., into such a course, and it must be the one that we started with. His Excellency is ambitious of being the Editor-in-chief, as well as Governor and Commander in and over, &c. The Governor might have his way, if it were not for two serious objections. First, official routine interposes endless delay, and we know no journal, even in our own metropolis, that would not be totally destroyed if its manuscript contributions and proofs had to go through one of the public departments before it came to the reader. The *Times* of to-day would be published a month hence. Secondly, we have no proof that Sir ROBERT would be anything but a very bad editor. His own ordinance shows a total incapacity for grappling with facts.

#### "THE STRANGER" IN PARLIAMENT.

[The responsibility of the Editor in regard to these contributions is limited to the act of giving them publicity. The opinions expressed are those of the writer: both *The Leader* and "The Stranger" benefit by the freedom which is left to his pen and discretion.]

THE House of Commons is an assembly in which the country has no confidence, and which has no confidence in the Government—and that incoherence accounts for an adjourned debate extending over six nights, of seven hours per night, and of speeches which printed in full would produce a greater amount of letter-press than is engaged in the largest editions of the "Decline and Fall" or Hume's "History." The House of Commons has no purpose, is not adequately in contact with the people to know the will of the country, and without will of its own, without knowledge of affairs, and with a clubby tendency to stave off agitation and crisis, it attempts to conceal its imbecility in adjourned debate—talk, chatter, cant. As well as one can at present make out the English, they are divided into two parties, Tory and Liberal, one in favour of going back, and by far the largest, most respectable, and most religious party; the other in favour of going forward: both profoundly disdainful and distrustful of the present. Both are weary, sick, scornful of the House of Commons, to that extent that even Conservative members of the administrative reform movement are acknowledging that the cry they must come to that they may get a hearing from the country, is "Election Reform." As well as one can make out public opinion, there is what Mr. Henry

Drummond calls a fatal want of faith in public men and the six nights' debate does not promise to improve that singular state of things. A few people believe in the war, but no one believes in the Government. On the other hand, the Government points out with great effect that no one believes in anybody else. We acknowledge, even those who insisted that he was a Chatham, that Lord Palmerston is a delusion, deluding even himself, and that Lord John Russell is a man with a tendency to intrigue, but intellectually not up to so clever a business. But, when before we vote, we compare them with Derby and Disraeli, personages too smart to have character, we come to regard even these conscienceless and callous old lords as statesmen and patriots. We have all made up our minds that the Peelites are Quakers well read in the Ethics of the Jesuits, and that the Manchester men are only fitted to be head clerks to the Peelites. As to the House of Commons' bench which is occupied by the gentlemen who answer every argument and fact by a reference to the "eventualities" of the war, who reply to the suggestion of the little bill, by dreamy talk of golden joys and Africa's sands, and generally speaking, cosmogony—the gentlemen who assume that they are public opinion, because when they denounce Russia the pot-houses applaud,—why even the pot-houses would be sorry to let them into power for a week. The House of Commons knows of this estimate of it by the nation: and if the Government will not lead—will not define the position, or sketch the prospect—what is the ludicrous club to do but wander in a woeful bog of washy "able speeches?" They have adjourned debates because they have nothing to discuss: they have so many amendments because they have no opinions to pronounce.

In this (self-governed) country it has been felt to be a degradation, formally levelling us to the condition of our cordial allies the French, that our representative institution set to work to discuss the conditions of peace after Government had been diplomatising in absolute independence of our opinions, wishes, or hopes: and in the House itself no one has anticipated the least benefit from the debate. Mr. Bright, indeed, has thanked Mr. Disraeli for having forced on the discussion; but Mr. Bright cannot but know that Mr. Disraeli's specific, though not ostensible, motive was to stop negotiations: so that Mr. Bright's congratulation is peculiar. Is it a benefit from the debate that the Peelites, most intellectual and honest of our governing class, have annihilated themselves as statesmen? Our pleasure in hearing and reading Mr. Bright's exposure of the shallow nature and dishonourable statecraft of the Ministers, individually and collectively, is enormous: but when this conviction of them does not in the least lead to any actual punishment,—does not advance us to any better form of government, any better set of men, or any better conduct from these men,—our enjoyment of Mr. Bright's magnificent oratory becomes a sensuous enjoyment which has little connexion with the practical business of our political life. Impossible to avoid the conclusion that the six nights' work of talk are not to be followed by any respectable seventh day rest, agreeable in a conscientious sense of results,—in short, to be brief about so lengthy an affair, all that hideous prolongation of chaotic palaver does not raise the House of Commons, and rather lowers England.

When a debate like this spreads, when there have been several score speeches, the faculty of summarising, and the capacity for generalisation becomes valuable; and in those cases the lawyers turn up in awful ascendancy. Last night—the conclusive night—when the division, or divisions, were inevitable—when therefore, there was appropriateness in astute retrospective arrangements, of the whole of the pro and cons—the lawyers came up as a matter of course, and, from five to eleven had the banging of the table and filling of the smoking-room almost entirely to themselves. Sir Frederick Thesiger, an advocate of the foremost reputation, who having notoriously excelled in his domestic affairs, is supposed to be adequate to the management of the State, sent everybody to dinner; and Mr. Fitzroy (worst at speaker, both in look and demeanour, since Onslow) to sleep, with great emphasis, much ingenuity, and attempt at great expenditure of physical energy—being observed and appreciated by Mr. Disraeli, three ministers, and five miscellaneous persons. He was answering Sir Alexander Cockburn, the Attorney-General, an indolent man of great power, who, for philosophic reasons, prefers a fainter course of life, but who, when roused into energy, can display a grand energy—who, on this occasion, made the most use of his splendid voice and his flexible intellect to show that his patrons, the old Lords, were painfully in the right, and absurdly misunderstood,—the which impartial Sir Alexander does not in the least believe, but the which he argues because they are his clients, and because, happening to find the House (before dinner) crowded, he liked the excitement of showing them what a clever man might do with a bad case. Mr. Walpole, forcible feeble member for the Militia, was the third lawyer—mere lawyer, and talked like a heavy Christian his amiably decorous commonplaces for an hour



to a House which buzzed and bustled, and was bored. Down he went at eleven, having accomplished his fifth or sixth peroration, profoundly convinced, as he fell back into the bosom of Fakington that he had been tremendously eloquent, as indeed he had, which is the reason he is undurable. Well, then, at that hour, it was due to the House that a first-class man should rise,—first class if not in brain, at least in position. But Palmerston is never tired of poking his fun at the House:—he put up Horsman—Horsman with a basket or so of oranges in his neighbourhood—Horsman deliriously bent on a great speech. Horsman commenced, continued, and concluded, in his old style—the old average House of Commons style, that ought to have died with Lord George Bentinck—monotonously tragic, twangingly heroic,—a waste of words—a desert of phrases—all bald quasi-logic—not a glimpse of wit, not a touch of illustration, not a spark of passion or poetry—a horrible epic of sustained mediocrity—calm and complacent mediocrity, implacably dull. Now, the club is insolently clubby, and Horsman has the position—the connexion and the prospects, to suggest to men fond of placidity, when they meet all sorts of M.P.'s "out" that this pretentious Irish Secretary ought to be listened to politely. But the House wouldn't: they chattered, cackinated, walked about; and after half an hour's attempt at getting a hearing, Palmerston was subdued—he pulled his right hon. friend's coat tails—and Horsman, puzzled, baffled, his oranges not a quarter consumed, had to sit down. Here was a clear intimation, from an assembly in which he has had some dozen years' practice, that Horsman won't do—that he has no right to thrust himself in the front of his fellowmen. But do you suppose Horsman will take the hint?—the miserable mediocrity will be as rampant as ever in three weeks! After the three heavy barristers he had his chance; and he spoke in their style—and he spoke worse than they did. The barristers failed because they did not correctly appreciate the instinctive demand of the House—for a judicial summing up: for these learned gentlemen spoke as counsel, not as judges. Of course it is altogether ignoring the theory in which a House of Commons originates to recommend any member to assume the judicial attitude. The great error of the Peelites party is that, in a representative body, they decline to be delegates, and insist on that sagacious Providential point of view which poor Sir Robert taught them all to take—poor Sir Robert having no opinions of his own, and therefore considering himself so competent to put everybody right. The judicial—that is the individual—point of view will seldom answer in the House of Commons, unless the individual has genuine individuality, a genius like —, or a Shakespeare fool like Henry Drummond:—ordinary personages must be intensely representative, if they would have either popularity or power—they must breathe the voice of a constituency, like Mr. Munz, or of a party like Mr. Disraeli. But, still, a barrister who gets into a close borough, like Sir Frederick Thesiger, on his way to the Speakership, or a Chief-Justiceship, has an opportunity of arbitration, and ought to discard the associations of Nisi Prius.

When Mr. Disraeli rose to mention that he was going to submit an impartial opinion, every one laughed heartily,—it was delightful audacity; and that tone, so suddenly imparted into the debate, seemed so successful, that Mr. Disraeli,—who has an elastic style, and is perhaps most successful in the conversational style at those times when the club, with no agitating division before it, wants amusing—went on, in a drawing-room manner, to jest on the whole question,—if it were a drawing-room word, one would say to "chaff" the House. It should be observed that there was, among the mass of members, notwithstanding that they had been cogitating the point for a week, the utmost mental confusion as to what was to be divided on, what ought to be divided on, and "how a fellow ought to vote"—they all put it to you, "Now how would you vote if you were in the House?" Mr. Disraeli, with keenness and clearness, traced what he called the pedigree of the different amendments, their exact tendency, and the results of the possible divisions, and this pleased the House, which though shrewdly suspecting that a cross would be contrived in the end, was glad, in case of accident, for an analysis. Yet though Mr. Disraeli so far succeeded with the "eloquent conversation" that got into fashion with Canning, yet, after the analysis, he got into a lounge on the general subject, became tedious, provoked the fatal buzz, and really—as so often lately—was mistaken by some strangers in the gallery as one of the regular bores. With all his faults of shallowness, impudence, boisterousness, Lord Palmerston last night,—twice Mr. Disraeli's age, but over-reaching by tact Mr. Disraeli's talent—struck everyone as the better speaker of the two. Granted that he told nothing in his speech—that he again misled the country—that he seemed to forget that

we expect to be self-governed. But is he not worthy of this House of Commons? In our Parliamentary history, is there anything more degrading to us than the scene in which every one, after six nights of debate, found out that there was perfect unanimity, and that any description of division was unnecessary?

Mr. Bright's speech on Thursday was a masterpiece of opposition attack. Now that he is joined in a Peace party by the Peelites, with their moral and political weight, and that he leaves behind him his original argument against the war, converting it into an argument against the continuance of the war, he enters a region of practicality, and can talk from a point of view suitable to an understanding which has of late not played freely when giving itself up to preaching abstractions about peace. Yet being as earnest as ever in his Martin-like pictures of the horrors of war, he, on Thursday, was not less surprisingly successful than on former occasions in the last two sessions in moving that cold and unemotional collection of *blasé* aristocrats, middle-class middle-aged roturiers, and old young men, into eager cheering of passionate declamation. His wit and humour—he possesses both—but served to heighten the effect of the darker passages of the sombre eloquence in which he perorated—the peroration leaving the House in a state of obvious excitement under the influence of this real orator. But the merit of the speech was in its colder excellence of plain argument, delivered in simple language, with repressedly quiet manner. Of the series of speeches delivered by the Peace party, every one of them being first-rate men, this of Mr. Bright's was the most excellent; for not only did he do, with more point and precision and tact, all that they had done, in defining the illogicality of our position in the renewed war; but, beyond all that, he carried the argument to the destruction of the Ministers. With exquisite tact and clearness he collected all the passages, with any meaning, from Ministerial speeches, in and out of the House, and from the heap of contradictions, imbecilities, and canes, he constructed an irresistible conclusion, on which the country, whether with or against Mr. Bright, will ponder, that these dilapidated old intriguers, now wielding the destinies of this grand and potent England, are playing at statesmanship—that they are perfectly reckless—that they have no policy, good or bad—that they have no faith, but that, given a general and an army, they will be fighting, and that when the army is English it is most likely to win. The effect of Mr. Bright's assaults on the Treasury bench can scarcely be understood from merely reading his speech. It reads merely funny—the effective hit produced by an extract from Hansard. But he is a gentleman of massive earnestness of character, and he does not in the least withhold a contemptuous manner when dealing with a contemptible subject. His sneers and sarcasms were enriched by the consciousness produced upon his audience by the voice, look, attitude of the man—all telling that here was no affected derision, but the solemn scorn of a nature more honest and more intellectual than the dreary, be-padded, be-toothed, be-calved, old mediocrities who sat there shamming the functions of God's vice-gerents. Not only were they being ridiculed—Mr. Disraeli is always doing that at them—but they looked ridiculous, and looked that they knew it. The spasmodic chat of unconcern—the ghastly grin of amusement—the jerky attempts to sit indifference—they tried all this—but it was horribly apparent that they felt in their wretched souls that they were humbugs, and that mankind was discovering that such heroes were too ludicrous.

The Baronets, Sir William Molesworth, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, Sir James Graham, and Sir William Clay, have not been felicitous in this debate: the bloody hand does not grip a war question with great force. Sir William tried to modify his reputation as a cabinet-councillor supposed to be conspiring for peace, by talking suspiciously big—and that did not seem exactly what was wanted. The second standard novelist of the Derby faction talked obvious truisms in a pretentiously square and artificial style, and was not much cheered by any but a few squires, who take for granted that a literary baronet in a bow-wow voice, and who gesticulates with his back-bone, must be talking well. Sir James Graham said ditto to Mr. Gladstone, with a cunning which every one discovered; and Sir James stands so queerly in House estimation since his manslaughter of Christie, and attempt to fix the crime on Mr. Layard, that it cannot be expected he will ever again be very emphatically successful in any of his crafty oratorical progresses into a mess. As to Sir William Clay, he was crushed by one phrase of Mr. Bright's, and had the meanness—only to be encountered in so proud and rich a man—to attempt to unsay what most unquestionably he had said—the attempt being quite understood by the grinning House, but Sir William not being booed because he is not Mr. Layard. These not eminent speeches of Molesworth, Bulwer, and Graham are three of the most prominent of the week's debate, and the inference is that the dis-

cussion, on the whole, has not been brilliant. Sidney Herbert's speech was effective, in its subtle management of the House, its adroit suggestive style of obnoxious arguments, and its clubby appeals to the House to separate itself, by soaring loftier, from the press and the public: but there was a disingenuousness in one of his suggestions—that he was eager for military success in order that peace (upon sham terms) might be effected,—which displeased those who, opposing the Peace party, still like the broad candour of Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright. Mr. Cobden's speech, on Tuesday night, was charming in its clear comprehensiveness—its exquisite precision of statement. People say—it was full of infelicities—it wanted literary tact—that happy story about "black and curly already" being botched by a lumbering narration. But is it new that Mr. Cobden's eloquence is unadorned—that he is "an inspired *commiss voyageur*"—an extraordinary ordinary man? A graver fault in his rapid *précis* of our martial muddle was that he touted for aristocratic cheers—and got them. What business is it of Mr. Cobden's that one Griffiths talks democracy to the Great Briton in a provincial pot-house—why should Richard Cobden take it on himself to denounce that astounding phenomenon, the British democrat? Can it be that Mr. Cobden is going in for Parliamentary fame, and to win popularity in that narrow club, the whole of whose establishment, except the gallery, he till now has obstinately ignored? It is, indeed, wonderful to see the way in which the once uncouth Manchester republicans are going in (at any price for peace) to defend our institutions. Mr. Cobden sneering at a movement against the old Lords is curious: but, on Thursday, one's heart stopped beating when one heard John Bright warning the Tory benches that if we went on with the excess of 75,000,000*l.* per annum, the poor little princes would get small pensions, and that perhaps Prince Albert would be inconvenienced by the royal washing being done at home. Perhaps that was not the only blunder of Mr. Bright. Can it be true what he, who knows them, says, that our capitalists would all send their capital to America, and leave "their own, their native city," if they could get more per centage out of the Stars and Stripes?

Saturday Morning.

"A STRANGER."

WHITTINGTON CLUB.—We are glad to learn that the loan of 3000*l.*, required for completing the rebuilding of the club premises in Arundel-street, has been nearly all subscribed. About 250*l.* is now wanted, and we have no doubt this small sum will be speedily obtained. The above loan, in addition to the 10,000*l.* for which the building was insured, will, we understand, be amply sufficient for the erection of an improved clubhouse suited to present wants and requirements; and we congratulate the members upon the spirit which they have shown, and the success which has crowned their efforts.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL AND JEWISH DISABILITIES.—The following answer has been returned by Lord John Russell to his constituents, who had addressed him on the subject of his intentions with respect to the admission of Jews into Parliament:—"Chesham-place, May 26.—Sir,—I did not answer your former letter of the 19th inst., as I wished to take some time to consider the position of affairs as it regarded the privileges of the Jews. It appears to me that, while the friends of religious liberty are unchanged in their opinion respecting the disabilities of the Jews, the majority of the House of Lords are likewise unchanged in their opinion, that the removal of those disabilities may be safely refused. The Government in these circumstances would be only throwing away time in attempting to carry a measure which one House is sure to reject. Many liberal members of Parliament, while they would support a motion to relieve the Jews from their disabilities, would consider as inopportune a question which would not advance the object to be attained. I must, therefore, consider that it would be inexpedient to stir the question of Jewish emancipation in the present session of Parliament. That claims so just can be permanently rejected, I will not believe. But the friends of intolerance naturally cling to this last vestige of religious persecution, and exult in the facility with which the exclusion of a body not formidable in numbers can be maintained.—I remain, Sir, your obedient servant, J. RUSSELL. Sidney Smith, Esq."

TWO HIGH-TORY METAPHORS.—AWFUL MISCONDUCT OF MINISTERS.—The *Morning Herald* on Monday last, charged the Premier with swallowing two bitter pills to prop up his declining influence, and accused the Coalition of shrouding with their dark shadows the glory and greatness of the land. We recommended our contemporary to administer a gentle purgative to the turbid fountain of his rhetorical transports.

FALL OF A HOUSE IN SEVEN DIALS.—On Thursday evening, at half-past five, a house under repair in Great Earl-street, Seven-dials, fell, burying several persons in the rains. The police were promptly on the spot, and succeeded in extricating the sufferers. Seven or eight men, women, and children were dug out, and they are all doing favourably.

## Literature.

Critics are not the legislators, but the judges and police of literature. They do not make laws—they interpret and try to enforce them.—*Edinburgh Review*.

NATURAL history owes so much to clergymen, that only a momentary surprise will be raised by CHARLES KINGSLEY's appearance in the field. Among his many accomplishments he counts the graceful pursuit of Natural History; and having last year written an article on the wonders of the shore, in the *North British Review*, he reprints and enlarges it this spring in a pretty little volume, just published by MACMILLAN, *Glaucus; or, the Wonders of the Shore*. It is not a work to criticise; indeed it is not, properly speaking, a work at all, but an *article*, and although pleasant to meet with in the pages of a Review or Magazine, has a want of the novelty and definite purpose which would fit it for a substantive work.

KINGSLEY is always and above all a clergyman, so you may be sure he does not lead you on to the seabeach without "improving the occasion," and making it a constant text. For ourselves we prefer the "sermons in stones" to the sermons on stones; we enjoy Nature more as sermon than as text; we are more subdued by her eloquence, than by the eloquence of any man getting up in her pulpit. Others are not of that way of thinking; and for them KINGSLEY's sermons may be the most attractive part of his volume.

There are truly wonders enough on the seashore to occupy a METHUSELEM. No one need complain of the vacuity and listlessness of solitude by the seaside, if he will confront the foolish prejudice against "smatterers," and answer the old platitude—

A little knowledge is a dangerous thing—

by a bold assertion that no knowledge is more dangerous still. He has only to get up a smattering of natural history, and he will not find time hang heavy on his hands. Something of what can be done on the seashore he will learn from *Glaucus*. But he need not go so far as the shore. The first ant-hill he stumbles on will occupy him for a week. Did the reader ever stretch himself on the grass, "lying against the sun upon a day," as CHAUCER says, and watch the tribe of ants issuing from their little city? There are three sexes, three castes in the tribe: first the Neuters, or those who work for the commonwealth (the People with a big P) who do all the labour, all the fighting, and all the police; secondly, the females held in great honour, as mothers should be; thirdly, the males, who are winged like the females, but who are kept prisoners by the careful workers, until the time when they are thought fit to be married. Let us suppose the Hymeneal day arrived. A crowd of ants issue, escorting the males and females to the altar. It is usually on the stems of the plants that the marriage takes place; but this is only the first act of the drama; or the first volume of the novel. At the close of this volume the husband dies. Marriage is death to him: the blaze of felicity lights his funeral pyre. The second volume opens with a series of widows descending the stems of the plants; but gay and sprightly as widows who loved not their lords. No sooner are they once more on *terra firma* than the escorts of workers pounce upon them, and carry them off to the ant-hill, there to watch them with Oriental jealousy. Nay, these guardians of public safety seem to consider the best security for the chastity of the widows is to tear off their wings! This done, they watch them tenderly, caressing, feeding, and transporting them when necessary to other spots, until the moment of accouchement arrives. Interesting moment! But where is the midwife? She too is present. She has probably studied the obstetric art under a learned professor, for we see her clinging to the abdomen of the suffering mother, and seizing the eggs as they make their appearance; she places them with great care in a heap together, and then possibly announces to the tribe that her lady is doing as well as can be expected. There is a romance of reality!

But the Loves of the Spiders would perhaps furnish a delicate pen with scenes even more thrilling. Did the reader ever watch the terrible coquetry of the female spider? We say terrible, for it is a perilous game to the young gentleman; if he misinterpret her looks and actions, if his vanity, or the thoughtlessness of youth, induce him to imagine he has inspired a passion deeper than coquetry, she does not, as our coquettes do, draw up her head and coldly declare "there must be some mistake," she pounces on the unlucky coxcomb, and slays him on the spot! Prescient of such a possibility, it is wonderful to see how stealthily and humbly the gallant gay Lothario pays his court. SRIKIZA was wont to relax his mind by watching spiders fight; but fighting is brutal work compared with courting: it is a mere display of strength and ferocity. Courting, when the maiden has the courage of CLORINDA and the ferocity as well as strength of BRUNHILD, is, as every reader of *Tasso* and the *Nibelungen Lied* will tell you, an exploit of far other reach and compass.

Apropos of BRUNHILD, and her ferocious virtue, the moralist will remark how much more humane even she is than fierce MISS ARACHNE; for although BRUNHILD is angry with her husband, she contents herself with hanging him up by her girdle on an iron hook, keeping him ignominiously suspended,

but sparing his life; whereas little ARACHNE thirsts for the blood of her suitor. To be sure ARACHNE was ever an excitable creature: did not her ancestress hang herself in despair because MINERVA, with feminine spite, tore in pieces the cloth which the cunning hand of ARACHNE had woven; and was she not thereby changed into a spider, as Grecian poets are ready to testify?

But we shall never cease wandering in this discursive style, unless we alight upon some piece of news which may recal us to our proper office. For you may have observed, *lector benevole*, that whenever our budget of news is scant, we fall into a strain of wandering talk, just as those who have no ideas have usually most words to clothe them with. That reads like a bull, but it is a small witticism; for a "bull" is unconscious, its essence lies therein, and a bull made with malice prepenze is a more or less hilarious *jeu de mots*. The loquacious persons just referred to as having no ideas have, of course, a few; and so have we some slight scraps of information. For example, we can inform you that the excellent and esteemed JULES SIMON, the professor of moral philosophy, who refused to owe allegiance to the Empire, has started recently a *Journal pour Tous*, at one penny a number, containing new novels and stories, illustrated by some of the ablest pencils; the type is small, so that each number contains as much as an ordinary volume of the Circulating Library standard. The sale has already reached 70,000 copies, although the work has only reached its ninth number. This proves that sound, cheap literature will succeed in France as elsewhere. The theatres have not been prosperous this year in Paris; the gross receipts show a diminution of nearly three millions of francs on last year. But at the present moment every theatre is crammed with visitors to the Exhibition, who are content with the novelties of twenty years ago.

We recently commended a French novel to our readers, *Tolla*, by M. EDMOND ABOUT, and among the motives of our praise was the delicate fidelity with which it depicted modern Italian life in an easy, unobtrusive style. From a curious article in the last number of *La Revue Contemporaine*, we learn that *Tolla* is a real story, that the letters it contains are translations of the actual letters written by VITTORIA SAVORELLI, and published in Rome, and that the invention of the author is confined to the manipulation of this story into a novel: thus he had to vary the monotony of the single situation which the story has, to surround the principal actors with minor actors, and to personify the public. The way in which he has done this shows that he possesses the true artistic capacity; and we shall be surprised if in M. ABOUT France has not a new master in Fiction. Amusingly enough, on the very day in which M. ABOUT published in the *Revue Contemporaine* this circumstantial history of *Tolla*, a writer in the *Revue de Paris* published an article accusing him, as if of a crime, of this very use of a real story and real letters: the ignorant or malevolent critic (perhaps he was both) not perceiving that by thus tracing *Tolla* to its origin, he was at once bestowing the highest praise on the novel and on its author.

More fortunate than most writers who have laboured for posterity as well as for their own times, MR. HALLAM\* has lived to see his exhaustive work on the *State of Europe during the Middle Ages* pass through eleven editions in less than forty years. To criticise this classic of historical research would be an impertinence; even to add one word to the universal verdict appears a superfluous pretension. But we grieve for the honour of English literature that Mr. HALLAM's signal success should not have encouraged other students to walk in his footsteps. How few English names can we find to compare with that phalanx of French and German authors who have studied history as a science, who have searched its vast storehouses for the lessons of experience, and who have taught mankind that there are other conquests and purer glories than those of war. As a philosophical historian Mr. HALLAM still stands alone and unapproached by any of his own countrymen; indeed by few even of the Continental writers, with the exception of SUMMONDI and GUIZOT. He has not only told us what manner of subjects should form the "eternal lessons of history," but has furnished an example to the students of future generations when our own noisy moment of time shall have become in its turn an exercise of research. We therefore hail with peculiar satisfaction Mr. Murray's new and improved edition of Mr. HALLAM's *View of the State of Europe* during that period of modern civilisation which we are pleased to call the Middle Ages, as if we had already attained the mysterious goal towards which mankind have been slowly advancing since the fall of the Roman Empire. The Supplemental Notes that appeared, in 1848, as a separate volume, are now incorporated with the original work, and materially add to its value without unnecessarily diverting the reader's attention from the text by troublesome and extraneous references. The price of this edition makes it accessible to a very large and frugal class of readers, who cannot afford the luxury of large paper, while the clear, broad type, and the general "getting up," make it an ornament to the shelves of a modest library.

We are simply taking note of the latest edition of a classic, but while our attention is attracted to Mr. HALLAM's great argument, we cannot resist the opportunity of a digression to express our surprise that no adventurous

\* View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages. By Henry Hallam, LL.D., &c. Eleventh edition. Vol. I. Murray.



student should have yet explored the flowery wilderness of Eastern Chronicles. He would find in the ancient annals of Persia, and in the still more accessible traditions of the Rajpoots, many striking illustrations of the true spirit, as well as of the outward forms of chivalry. And he would thence learn in what degree the material and social progress of the West is due to commerce, in what degree to Christianity; for, until the principles of commerce began to be understood and developed, the Christian nations of Europe never attained a higher order of knowledge and refinement than has prevailed among Hindoos and Mussulmans.

#### BADEN POWELL ON DEVELOPMENT.

*Essays on the Spirit of the Inductive Philosophy, the Unity of Worlds, and the Philosophy of Creation.* By the Rev. Baden Powell. Longman and Co.

(THIRD ARTICLE.)

THE third and last Essay of this excellent work is devoted to the question of Development, which after its revival in the *Vestiges of Creation*, excited, and will for some time continue to excite, such profusion of bad temper and bad logic. Nowhere are the courage and sincerity of the Rev. Baden Powell shown more honourably than in this Essay. He uniformly argues with the temper and the clearness of a philosopher. He strains no point, indulges in no rhetoric, attempts no dogmatic brow-beating. He examines the arguments in a thoroughly candid spirit; and brings forward several of his own which are of weight. Admitting that the names most eminent in Geology and Physiology are against the Hypothesis of Development, he truly remarks that the question is one of general principles of reasoning rather than of precise scientific details; and thus, without venturing to impugn the science of these authorities, he calls in question their logic. How he does so the reader will do well to seek in this Essay. We shall only touch it here and there.

The Hypothesis, he rightly considers as an Hypothesis, one which seems supported by analogy and probability, helping the general conception of some great principle of orderly evolution, according to which the present as well as the past systems of existence have been produced out of the preceding order of things, and "at least conspiring with all truly philosophical considerations to disprove the necessity for appealing to any sudden interruptions of order, or operations of an unknown and mysterious kind, alien from all natural causes." Let the Hypothesis be admissible or inadmissible, one thing is certain, that the cause of Truth can only be injured by the disgraceful tone usually adopted by the antagonists of this Hypothesis. Hear the Savilian Professor with mild yet firm reproof:—

Looking at the question in a perfectly dispassionate manner, there appears to me a one-sidedness in the censures, or at least, excessive cautions, often expressed, against so hazardous an hypothesis as that of transmutation, even by some eminent philosophers, more than is warranted by sober philosophical considerations; and in which others display more zeal than can be explained by mere antagonism in a fair scientific controversy, while they sometimes appear to betray even a degree of alarm at the bare suspicion of a leaning towards the obnoxious theory of development, as if their whole scientific, or even personal reputation were at stake.

Some, again, have taken up such questions in a more determined controversial spirit, and have maintained in a tone of polemical acrimony, little to have been expected on such a subject, that the phenomena of new species are absolutely impossible to be explained on any physical principles, or even by any physical conjectures; and must be ascribed to sudden interruptions of the order of nature, connected with the convulsions and catastrophes which overwhelmed all the old species, and were of a kind wholly beyond the domain of physical causes or the limits of philosophical examination.

Such imaginations easily find favour with those who have some other object in view than mere philosophical truth; and if somewhat faulty in their foundation, their weakness in reason is abundantly compensated by loudness of dogmatism and a peremptory style of assertion that "species are real existences," and that "transmutation is impossible;" all which has an imposing effect when supported by the aid of a kind of mystified eloquence, and seconded the more awful denunciations so authoritatively pronounced against the heterodox speculations of the developmental school.

Again:—

But still more injurious to the cause of religious truth is the course too often resorted to by the professed defenders of its cause, even in the present time. Not always dully alive to the actual spread of intelligence, they cringe to the loud but ignorant zeal of the few, and become followers in the train of prejudice rather than its correctors and enlighteners. They have too often yet to learn that, by continuing to insist on dogmas which the advance of knowledge has discredited, and literal interpretations which the discoveries of science have set aside, by adopting fallacious compromises, or by discouraging and denouncing those open avowals which alone consist with the reality of truth, and that free inquiry which Christianity challenges—they are following a course as unworthy in principle as it is short-sighted in policy; they are inflicting the worst injury on their own cause, and are but strengthening the arms of that sceptical hostility which they so strenuously profess to oppose.

Now, we think our readers will agree with us in the importance we attach to a work like the present, issuing from Oxford, avowed by an Oxford Professor, whose character and position alike give authority to his language—a work which besides its positive merits, and those of an unusual order, has the other merit of rescuing from theological sophisms and bad temper a scientific Hypothesis, ingenious as an Hypothesis, useful as an aid towards forming general conceptions of nature, stringing facts upon a thread of interest, and leading the minds of men to consider some of the profoundest problems of Biology. People may be frightened away from this subject, as they were for so many years frightened away from Geology. But in the end, the courage of investigators must prevail. This work will not a little aid the progress of the timid. The author of the *Vestiges* has had no ally so potent; and the alliance is all the more effective, because Mr. Powell by no means takes up the position of a partisan. He does not declare in favour of Development; but he declares in favour of the Hypothesis as an Hypothesis.

The examination of the evidence *pro* and *con*, afforded by Geology is masterly. The remarks on species also deserve attention; from them we extract the following:—

Much discussion (as is well known) has arisen on the question whether the different races of man are varieties of one species, or distinct species; and it seems to be at present the prevailing opinion that they are varieties merely. But the question, *how*, by what steps or processes, did such large and fundamental differences arise? entails more important consequences than many in their zeal to maintain a single origin seem to perceive. It is clear that these differences are fully as great as those which in many other cases are allowed to constitute distinct species.

If in the case of man they have occurred as transitional varieties, how comes it that they have become so inveterately permanent? And if those changes have all occurred within the lapse of a few thousand years of the received chronology, it cannot with any reason be denied that similar changes might occur among inferior animals, and become just as permanent. And if so, changes to an indefinitely greater extent might occur in indefinite lapse of time. If these changes take place by the gradual operation of natural causes, it would be preposterous to deny the possibility of equal or greater changes by equally natural causes in other species in equal or greater periods of time. The advocates of the fixity of species would argue that the single spot on a butterfly's wing, which constitutes a species, never has changed, and never can change, without a miracle; and yet the vast differences between a European and a Negro or Australian are mere modifications of one parent stock by natural causes in the lapse of a few thousand years!

The peculiar characters of the Negro race are recorded as prominently marked, as at present, in the ancient Egyptian paintings, which may go back 8000 years or more. Here, then, is a variety which has been permanent for at least that long period; a period, too, which has been expressly relied on by many to prove the permanence of species by appeal to these very monuments. And then we have to ask, How long must it have taken, at this rate of imperceptible progress, to have been developed out of the original stock?

Another instance has been much dwelt upon, the so-called "varieties" of the dog, presumed to be derived from a common stock; but how long since, is undetermined. Yet in these varieties (in which even the form of the cranium greatly differs) it would be difficult to deny that the distinctive characters are permanent, at least under the continuance of the same external conditions; and that each race, when preserved isolated under such conditions, would remain permanently distinct.

Much stress has also been laid by some on the asserted sterility of hybrids; though, in truth, it affects very little the general question; while its very limited evidence dependent only on a few isolated facts, occurring in a state of domestication, is utterly insufficient for the foundation of any general law. The cases commonly referred to should be regarded by an unprejudiced mind as probably exceptional, under peculiar conditions, and not to be dogmatised upon, as involving any real and necessary law of organised existence. As there are limits beyond which union will not take place, so within these there may very probably be certain limits of still nearer affinity, beyond which sterility in the offspring prevails, but which have not yet been determined. The recurrence to the original type often observed, only proves that conditions are not favourable to the continuance of the variety. And of the very positive assertions so liberally made in these and the like cases, it is to be observed that they are, at best, merely empirical conclusions, wholly unsupported by any wide analogies, or explained by any known causes which can confer on them the character of real natural principles.

Yet the immutability of species, as something essential to their nature and inherent in it, has been upheld by a large section of naturalists—and still more strenuously by some who are not naturalists—in this country, with a degree of positiveness and even vehemence, which the more negative character of the evidence could never justify, and which it would be difficult to account for, so far as any arguments of a philosophical nature may be supposed to influence the opinion.

It is indeed difficult to say what extent of mysticism is not connected in the minds of some with the notion of the immutability of species. Even such sober naturalists as MM. Agassiz and Gould speak of it as dependent on an "immaterial principle" essential to animal life.

But in other schools, especially on the Continent, opposite views are extensively maintained, and probably gaining ground. In the case of plants more particularly, it is simply as a question of facts that some eminent botanists view the matter. Thus one of the most distinguished foreign naturalists, Prof. Schleiden of Jena, after giving a variety of illustrative instances, thus sums up the state of the case:—

"We know that varieties once formed, when they have continued to vegetate under the same conditions for several generations, pass into sub-species; that is, into varieties which may be propagated with certainty by their seeds. How, then, if the same influences which have called forth an aberration from the original form of the plant, continue to act in the same way, not for centuries or tens of centuries, but for ten or a hundred thousand years, will not at last, as the variety thus becomes a sub-species, so also, this, become so permanent, that we shall and must describe it as a species."

One of the great arguments relied on by the adversaries of Development is, that "we have no experience of the individuals of any species being produced otherwise than from individuals of its own kind." This argument, as Mr. Powell remarks, assumes the whole question at issue. And he adds:

On the whole, then, comparing the limited extent and purely empirical nature of our knowledge of species in the existing state of things, with the positive evidence of past changes, it would seem that the more correct statement of the general fact would be simply that species (within certain limits of deviation) are permanent during very long periods, but beyond those periods a change, in some sense, occurs; and this bears some relation to changes of external conditions. But under the same change of conditions one species may be highly susceptible of, and sensitive to, the influence of that change, while another may be insensible to it. Thus one may remain permanent, while another may undergo change, or even be exterminated. And the only question is as to the sense in which such change of species is to be understood;—whether individuals, naturally produced from parents, were modified by successive variations of parts, in any stage of early growth or rudimentary development, until, in one or more generations, the whole species became in fact a different one;—or whether we are to believe that the whole race perished without reproducing itself, while, independent of it, another new race, or other new individuals (by whatever means), came into existence, of a nature closely allied to the last, and differing often by the slightest shades, yet unconnected with them by descent; whether there was a continuation and propagation of the same principle of vitality (in whatever germ it may be imagined to have been conveyed), or whether a new principle or germ originated independently of any preceding, out of its existing inorganic elements.

And elsewhere:—

We have "no experience" of the formation of coal. Yet in past epochs we know it occurred, and it is accounted for by known and existing causes. The submergence of forests,—the accumulation of vegetable matter,—the compression of materials by superincumbent masses, whether solid or fluid,—are known natural causes, which do, or might, occur within our experience or that of history. But for the consolidation of those beds of vegetable matter, and their conversion into coal, the essential condition has been the influence of immense duration and vast periods of past time; and of this, undeniably, we can have "no experience."

To apply this remark to the question of organic changes, it is alleged we have no experience of such a thing as a change of species; but we have experience of the present uniformity of species subject to slight and occasional deviations. This is a known cause now acting. To how great an extent these successive deviations might be carried in immense periods of past time under changing external conditions, we know not.

We have not space to give the development of these remarks; the reader is referred to the Essay.

We have so often discussed in these columns the Development Hypothesis, both in itself, and as presented in the *Vestiges*, that it is unnecessary now to reopen the subject. The reader who opposes, and the reader who accepts that Hypothesis, will find in the Rev. Baden Powell a guide as candid as he is able. The work, to which we have devoted the unusual attention of three articles, is very encouraging for those who expect Oxford to play her part in the intellectual advancement of our age. We know enough of Oxford to know that, beside the centre of Conservatism and Tradition, there exists a centre of Progress. Not only are hundreds of the young and energetic minds in that University devoting themselves to all liberal causes, but several of the older men are as valiant in the service of Progress. Oxford has its faults; its waste of power and opportunity; its limitations, which are the swaddling-clothes stunting the growth of children; but Oxford has also many signal advantages; and "the splendour and illumination of many minds," the advantage, as old Johnson said, of a great public school, make it a centre of influence to which we must all look anxiously.

#### THE ZULUS.

*Life with the Zulus of Natal, South Africa.* By G. H. Mason, of Sidney-Sussex College, Cambridge, and Pieter-Maritzberg, Natal. "The Travellers Library." Longmans and Co.

It is well for the "pensive public" that Mr. Mason has not taken in hand to set forth in order the return of Diomed or the events of the Trojan war, for—in spite of Horace and Sidney-Sussex College, Cambridge—he would assuredly have commenced with the death of Meleager and the "twin-egg." As it is, out of 232 pages of narrative there are sixty-nine introductory, and as many more irrelevant. The first chapter opens with a high-flown similitude between a young man setting out in life and a traveller eager to "gain the far summit of some steep long mountain range," for the path of life—says Mr. Mason—lies up-hill. With many, however, even the "morning march" takes a downward direction, as in the case of our author himself, and it is only after an arduous scramble that "with measured tread they climb the steep ascent." To our mind, however, the pleasantest allusion to the ups and downs of life may be found in the lines chalked above his mantelpiece by the assassin-poet Lacenaire:—

La vie est pleine d'embarras,  
Tous mes malheurs ici l'attestent;  
Nous avons des hauts et des bas,  
Heureux quand ces derniers nous restent.

But escaping from this dyspeptic exordium, we finally get under weigh, and while still sighing a long farewell to our native land we become desperately seasick and dive into the depths below. Here we discover that chocolate is "an almost infallible cure for retching either at sea or on land," and that life in an emigrant ship tends greatly to develop the organ of secretiveness:—

"Number One" was everything with everybody. A plate, a knife and fork, or spoon—even your bed-clothes and dirty linen—were not secure for an instant, unless constantly under your eye. Indeed, so daring had the light-fingered gentlemen become, that a gammon of bacon was stolen from us, and my pocket picked of a small book during Divine Service, the second Sunday we were at sea. And, what was still more amusing, a sheep that the captain had killed for the first cabin table was every bit stolen before the following morning.

We have, of course, all the usual hackneyed descriptions of a moonlight dance on deck, crossing the line, a storm at sea, a shipwreck with "three hundred fellow-creatures struggling in yonder surf," desertion by the crew, and final safe disembarkation, "when the sea had gone down, and scarcely a ripple disturbed its placid state of rest."

If Mr. Mason's object has been simply to answer, once for all, the tedious inquiries of his personal friends as to how he fared during his brief but uncomfortable sojourn among the Caffre tribes of South Africa, he is entitled to some praise for the manufacture of this little book. But should any confiding inquirer take it up with a view to learn something of the productions of the country, the prospects of the colony of Natal, or the manners and customs of the Zulus, the result will hardly inspire him with much admiration of Mr. Mason's handicraft. We give the author, however, the benefit of the best extract that presents itself:—

#### A CAFFRE WEDDING.

Scarcely had we taken our station near the umdodie (husband), when a low, shrill chant came floating on the breeze from the bottom of a lovely vale hard by, where I discovered a long train of damsels, slowly wending their way amongst bright green patches of Indian corn and masses of flowering shrubs, studded with giant cactus and the huge flowering aloe. As the procession neared the huts, they quickened their pace and raised their voices to the highest pitch, till they arrived at the said cattle kraal, where they stood motionless and silent. A messenger from the umdodie then bade them enter the kraal, an order that they instantly obeyed, by twos, the youngest leading the way, closely followed by the rest, and terminated by a knot of marriageable young ladies (entombies), clustering thick about the bride—a fat, good-natured girl, wrapped round and round with black glazed calico, and decked from head to foot with flowers, beads, and feathers. Once within the kraal, the ladies formed two lines, with the bride in the centre, and struck up a lively air; whereupon the whole body of armed Caffres rushed from all parts of the kraal, beating their shields and uttering demon yells, as they charged headlong at the smiling girls, who joined with the stalwart warriors in cutting capers and singing lustily, till the whole kraal was one confused mass of dancers, roaring out hoarse war songs and shrill love ditties. After an hour dancing ceased, and joila (Caffre beer) was served round, while the lovely bride stood in the midst of the ring alone, stared at by all and staring in turn at all, until she brought her eyes to bear on her admiring lord; then, advancing leisurely, she danced before him amid shouts of the bystanders, singing at the top of her voice, and brandishing a huge carving knife, with which she scraped big drops of perspiration from her heated brow, produced by the unusually violent exercise she was performing. This last was by far the most unsightly part of their proceedings, and as daylight was fast waning, we withdrew, in order to regain our distant hut.

## Portfolia.

We should do our utmost to encourage the Beautiful, for the Useful encourages itself.—GOETHE.

### THE EXPOSITION OF THE FINE ARTS IN PARIS.

#### LETTER II.

In a previous letter I gave a rapid outline of the first victory obtained by the Independent French School of Artists immediately after the Revolution of 1830. From that time forwards, it became the custom and the law that exhibitions should be annual; but the enthusiastic societies into which the young disciples of Art had formed themselves, soon found that more was wanted to enable them to give full scope to their energies. Frequent opportunities of communicating with the public, were, indeed, not of much use, so long as those who were desired to communicate could not elect a certain proportion of the Jury of Admission. The Institute still retained absolute authority in this matter, and showed itself to be sufficiently unintelligent and vigorous after the manner of all corporations. However, the young school had increased in importance. A notable portion of the public supported it; and the whole press, with the most admirable unanimity, came to the assistance of its weakness, and encouraged its hopes. During the whole reign of Louis Philippe, no critic in any journal began the annual series of his articles on the salon, without vigorously attacking the exclusive and hostile spirit of the Academical coterie. The time is now come to do this justice to the principal writers on Art in the French press. Jules Janin in the *Artiste*, Delescluze in the *Débats*, Gustave Planche in various Reviews, Alexandre Decamps and Haussard in the *National*, Théophile Gautier in the *Presse*, with Thoré, Pelletan, Gérard de Nerval, Mantz, Arnoux, and many others in different quarters, fought gallantly for liberty of thought in the world of form and colour, and succeeded in persuading the whole thinking public that, if the Jury was entitled to decide on the merits of the works presented to them, it had nothing to do with determining their character, or with influencing individual tendencies. For some time, however, this controversy bore no practical fruits, and a severe censorship in the Arts was maintained by the Institute in the teeth of general disapprobation.

I must not forget, however, to recal a circumstance which is certainly *puissant*, though very natural, and of common occurrence in history. In 1830, at the very time that the artists of the New School were obtaining from Louis Philippe the institution of annual exhibitions, they were on the point of obtaining also the privilege of electing the Jury, and even a good deal more. They lost the opportunity by their own unwisdom and want of foresight; and it is probable that, for a long time, perhaps for a century—who knows?—it will never present itself again. The consequences of the victory they did not obtain would have been most important, most incontestably fortunate, most advantageous for the enlargement of the domain of Art, and the enfranchisement of French genius—unhappily always muzzled and shackled just when it seems about to redeem its best promises. Louis Philippe in the early part of his reign had not completely systematised his conservatism. He did not see then that in order to uphold a monarchy it is necessary to preserve the idea of authority intact everywhere, and that if the spirit of democracy is admitted anywhere, it becomes of a dangerous example. He was quite willing to revive completely in the liberal sense the institution of the Academy of Painting, the whole system of instruction at the School of the Fine Arts, and everything that related to the award of the Great Prize at Rome. M. de Montalivet, his minister, instituted a commission charged with presenting for royal sanction whatever legitimate or generous demands might be made in the interest of Art. The Young School—if we may apply this name to the vast number of independent talents which agreed in opposition to the narrow system of the heirs of David—were then organised into numerous and truly active societies. One of these, the most popular and the most enthusiastic, called the Free Society of Painting and Sculpture, had endeavoured to express, that whilst it sought for enfranchisement and looked towards the future, it did not despise anything that was venerable and precious in the past, by electing for its two secretaries M. Jeanron, the young commentator of Vasari, and the aged M. de Montabert, author of perhaps the most remarkable work that has ever been written upon Art, and a partisan of the Davidian School, but incapable, from the natural largeness of his mind, of admitting and supporting its narrow views and exclusive pretensions. His young colleague, we must not forget to say, was equally moderate; for whilst he laboured in his learned essays to exalt the ancient schools and revive the influence of their traditions, forgotten by the Academy, he nevertheless defended against the unintelligent reaction of his fiery contemporaries the broad and sober handling of David. A good deal might have been expected from a body that chose its officers on such grounds; but, alas! something more is required in negotiations with power than upright views and honest intentions. This poor Society of Free Artists sent to M. de Montalivet, in complete good faith and without any binding instructions, a deputation composed of all its notabilities—that is to say, young men, of from twenty to twenty-five for the most part, chose as their representatives men of from thirty to thirty-five years of age, who had already acquired some reputation by their works. There is no greater problem than this of representation. Your peers do not understand what you want; your betters are liable to see most clearly what they want. MM. Delacroix, Charles Decaisne, Saint-Evre, Sigalon, Decamps, and others, sat in deliberation with a certain number of Academicians; and if I am well informed, agreed most harmoniously just to widen the framework of the Institute so as to admit of their own easy entrance therein, without waiting for the reluctant departure of superannuated genius. Their proposition certainly was made in a spirit of liberality and progress; but the youth by whom they had been deputed could not be great gainers thereby. The new king, in his critical sagacity, must have recognised in this adventure the likeness of many others with which he was familiar, and no doubt understood at once how far he should profit thereby. It was not his business to offer more than was asked. So the Artistic Conferences were dragged out some time longer, and nothing further came of them. The Young School remained outside, and continued agitating for liberty during the rest of the reign. It would be a curious study to examine to what extent their dissatisfaction influenced the course of political events. Artists form a much larger and more active section of the Parisian population than most persons are aware of. It has been calculated that the painters alone amount to six thousand in number, three thousand of whom are entirely dependent on their pencils. This question, however, I shall reserve for another opportunity. Meanwhile, any one who reflects on this hint, may find materials for checking the stupid wonder sometimes felt or affected in England, that artists—men of taste or refinement—should ever have had anything to do with horrid democrats. The truth is, that in the artistic world—as they have all the



professions, not to speak at present of the "labouring community"—the monarch, imperial, in one word, the Government system, profits only to those who have already so far advanced as to have no just claim to assistance. "To him that hath shall be given."

In 1848, the artists, after the political victory had been gained, did not show themselves nearly so ardent or so interested in the institutions by which they were governed as they had been previously. The quarrel of the Schools was much less violent. A certain amount of enfranchisement, moreover, had been at once obtained; and one of the men most capable of guiding them at that time—by the enthusiasm which he had preserved and by the increased knowledge he had gained—was in a position to be of use to them in an official capacity: M. Jeannon was named Director-General of the Museums and member of all Commissions on Art, on adjudication of prizes and distribution of public works and recompenses. He at once imparted to the acts of the Republican Government, during its short duration, a spirit so completely liberal and equitable, that the artists had no further reason for agitation. His first step was to announce a perfectly free exposition, in which all works, of whatever kind presented, were admitted. This was certainly at that time—so unfavourable to criticism—the wisest course that could have been adopted. But, meanwhile, in the Permanent Commission of the Fine Arts the discussion of an entirely new body of regulations was being carried on. M. Jeannon's principles—although not unopposed—were triumphant. They were applied with most complete success to the Exposition which took place at the Tuileries, at the Palais Royal, and at the Menus Plaisirs. I cannot here discuss the new system, because to do so would lead to an elaborate examination of the organisation of the French School, of the mode of encouragement adopted, and of the nature of the impulse supplied by Government. But I shall return to this subject. At present it will be sufficient to say that the regulations established by the Republic have been utterly set aside; and the coming Exhibition will be governed by a perfectly arbitrary commission, in which the Institute reappears *en masse*, and is dominant. One only of its members has been omitted, not on account of his artistic opinions—they conform to those of his colleagues—but on account of his political opinions, M. David d'Angers. Lawyers and bankers are also in great force in its ranks—artists yield easily to the influence of eloquence and money. Babbles and Finance will govern with little resistance. I shall be much surprised, therefore, if the decisions of the new jury do not excite unanimous discontent—which, however, under the circumstances, will be voiceless. Artists will whisper their grievances one to the other. Official organs will boast that the palmy days of the Empire have returned; and much delight will appear in print. But all ateliers will be filled with murmurs; and the pencil will find that in order that Authority may be fully established, it must be meddled with as well as the pen. Freedom of the brush is equally obnoxious to the new régime with freedom of speech; and liberties must not now be taken either on canvas or in "columns."

The regulation established by the Republic, and recently set aside in silence, without even an apology, contained two very important provisions. In the first place, a certain number of the members of the jury were elected by universal suffrage among the artists; every one who submitted a picture for approval submitted a *bulletin* containing his "list," and, secondly, all works purchased or recompensed by the Government were required to be exhibited apart, in order that if any favouritism were displayed, the public might be able to judge and censure. These guarantees were considered very valuable by artists, and applauded by all honest and intelligent amateurs. They were introduced in 1848 into the report of the sub-committee of the Permanent Commission, composed

of Messrs. Eugène Delacroix, Jeannon, Nieuwerkerke, and Charles Blanc, and became law at that time. I see nothing in the demeanour of the new, or rather of the revived jury, and their patrons, calculated to diminish regret at the departure of the Republican system.

## The Arts.

### SIGNOR MONTI'S SECOND LECTURE.

In his second lecture, delivered on Wednesday last, Signor Monti, having resumed the notice of *Symbolic Art* as embodied by the Egyptians, the Assyrians, and the Persians (which formed the subject of his first discourse), proceeded to introduce the sculpture of India as illustrative of the *Symbolism of Imagination*.

He showed that the sculptures of India had also chiefly to represent divinities, and those endowed with the most wonderful attributes that the fancy of devotees could imagine; that character of exalted imagination pervaded all their legends and poems, especially those not within the strict pale of religion, giving them the character rather of romance than of history; that all such subjects were treated by the Indian sculptor with an exaltation of form quite equal to the exaltation of conception.

Drawings were exhibited and explained illustrative of this part of the lecture. An actual relic, in a good state of preservation, probably from one of the famous caves near Madras or Bombay—was shown and commented upon.

The subject of Japanese, Chinese, and Mexican sculpture was then glanced at, and demonstrated by a few diagrams.

Then, leaving the Asiatic and American symbolism, the lecturer returned to the western people of Asia Minor, Phœnicia, early Greece, and Italy, by him comprised under the general denomination of *Pelasgi*, showing how their sculpture was still confined within symbolic form, and represented its conceptions in obedience to sacerdotal rules, whence the name of *hieratic* applied to this class of art. The exhibition of several examples from works of early sacred style both in Greece and in Italy concluded the lecture.

Having thus disposed of *Symbolic Art* amongst the ancients, the lecturer has prepared his audience for the examination of *Free Art* as practised by the Greeks, which will form the subject of his next reading.

### LEVIASSOR AT THE ST. JAMES'S.

EVERYBODY knows Paris now-a-days; and everybody who knows Paris knows the little theatre of the PALAIS ROYAL; and everybody who knows the little theatre of the PALAIS ROYAL knows LEVIASSOR—not the least comic star in that firmament of *farceurs*. LEVIASSOR has something of what we identify with WRIGHT, and something more of CHARLES MATHEWS in his composition. What is purely PALAIS ROYAL in his entertainment requires almost a special education to appreciate; but the changeful rapidity of personation, the sparkling ease, the inexhaustible vivacity and volubility, the neat and often elegant dexterity in singing, with the genial dramatic cleverness in every assumption of character, belong to a highly-finished artist capable of touching more than one chord of sympathy and emotion. His entertainment at the St. JAMES'S (which we heartily recommend to our readers) is a sort of "at home," in which he is assisted by the charming and piquante Mademoiselle TEISSEIRE, who warbles her couplets very sweetly and tastefully. The *Pirottes d'un Vieux Danseur* and *Le Père Bonhomme*, by LEVIASSOR, and the *Curé de Village*, by Mademoiselle TEISSEIRE, are well worth a visit to the St. JAMES'S, to see and to hear.

### FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE.

**BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.**—ERASMUS BOND, Wharf-road, City-road, and Angel-terrace, Islington, soda-water manufacturer.

**BANKRUPT.**—WILLIAM PAXON, Hampstead, auctioneer—EDMUND BUTLER, York-street, Middlesex Hospital and Norwood, baker—WILLIAM BOUCH, Queen-street, Minster, licensed victualler—BENJAMIN BOUCH, William's-terrace, Hawley-road, Kentish-town, licensed victualler—FLORENCE PARKY MCCARTHY, Beach-street, Barbican, metal dealer—HENRY TUNNEY, Fulham, boarding-house-keeper—BURNHAM BALFOUR, Pioneer's-hall-court, Broad-street, underwriter—DAVID and BENJAMIN ROLLASTON, Bilston, Staffordshire, ironmasters—FREDERICK DAWSON HIGGS, Coventry, ironmonger—GEORGE STANTON, Birmingham, retail brewer—WILLIAM HANCOCK, Talk-o'-the-Hill, Staffordshire, builder—ABRAHAM HENRY JAMES, Newport, Monmouthshire, stonemason—WILLIAM WILLIAMS, Liverpool, tailor.

**SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.**—A. ALLAN, Edinburgh, carpenter—J. STEVENSON, Glasgow, fisher—J. PETERSON, Shetland, merchant.

**BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.**—JOHN KITCHING, Clayton, Bradford, grocer.

**BANKRUPT.**—JAMES HARRIS, Old Shot Tower Wharf, Commercial-road, Lambeth, potter and brickmaker—DAVID LEOPOLD LEWIS, Salter's Hall-court, Cannon-street, City, merchant—SAMUEL DUDLEY, Tipton, Staffordshire, tailor—GEORGE FREDERICK JOHNSTONE, otherwise GEORGE JOHNSTONE, St. Ives, draper—HENRY ANDREWS SIMON, Albion-road, Wandsworth-road, boarding-house-keeper—WILMOT JAMES NOKES, Spitalfields, potato salesman—CHRISTOPHER ROWLS BELL, otherwise CHRISTOPHER ROWLS BELL, Honslow, Middlesex, coal merchant—CHARLES BLANKS, East Hanningfield, Essex, blacksmith—RICHARD NICHOLSON, Liverpool, stonemason—WILLIAM PARRY, Newtown, tailor and draper—MILES ROBINSON, Norwood, farmer—THOMAS DAVIES, Cardigan, ship-builder—THOMAS LAKE, Wakefield, grocer—WILLIAM BEARDSALL, Manchester, plumber—GEORGE OLDFIELD and ROBERT OLDFIELD, Manchester, willow merchants—WILLIAM MELLOR and DAVID NORRURY, Chorley and Alderley, Chester, cattle dealers—JAMES FISH, Bury, Lancaster, cotton manufacturer.

**SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.**—JAMES SCRIMGEUR, Larbert, cattle dealer—ALEXANDER MUNRO, Glasgow, architect and builder—WILLIAM CAMERON, Dundee, merchant—YULE and WILKIE, Glasgow, engineers—JOHN BIRNIE, West Craig, near Edinburgh, dealer in grain.

### BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

**BIRTHS.**  
ARUNDEL and SURREY.—June 1, in Carlton-terrace, the Countess of Arundel and Surrey, a son.  
COMPTON.—June 5, the Lady William Compton, a son.  
PHILLIPS.—May 31, at Grace Dieu Manor, Leicestershire, the wife of Ambrose Lisle Phillips, Esq., a daughter.

**MARRIAGES.**  
MORLEY and HALSWELL.—June 2, at St. Mary's, West Brompton, by the Rev. W. J. Irons, D.D., Reginald Ingham Morley, Esq., of Thorpe-square, son of the late George Morley, Esq., of Brompton, barrister-at-law, to Emilia, second daughter of E. Halswell, of Old Brompton, Esq.

**WHITE-SMITH.**—May 10, at Trinity Church, Brooklyn, by the Rev. Wm. H. Lewis, D.D., Mr. Benjamin White, Jun. (formerly of Bow, Middlesex), to Miss Caroline M. Smith, (both of Brooklyn, New York).

**DEATHS.**  
ADAM.—June 1, at Sudbury, John William Adam, Esq., formerly of Camberwell-grove, Middlesex, aged ninety-five.  
BONE.—June 3, suddenly, Elizabeth Deborah, daughter of the late Henry Bone, Esq., R.A.

**MACBEAN.**—May 24, at St. John's, Fulham, General Sir William Macbean, K.C.B., Colonel of the 92nd Highlanders, aged seventy-four.

## Commercial Affairs.

### MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

Friday Evening, June 8, 1855.

THE Funds maintain their position, and although a slight depression took place when it was known that the final meeting of the Conference at Vienna had broken up, and all hope of peace for the present must be abandoned. The particulars of the Kertch and Yenikaleh expedition, and the recommencement of the bombardment of Sebastopol improved the market. The continued fine weather and the prospect of a better harvest than was anticipated at one time, has had its effect. In the foreign stocks there has been considerable inquiry after Buenos Ayrean and Chilean. Russian Five per Cents. are still high. Some transactions in Mexican have likewise taken place. There has been a considerable depression in Turkish Six per Cent. The Hebrew party, mindful of its great lawyer's instructions to "spoil the Egyptian," has been trying to exact hard terms from the Government in connexion with this loan, and finding the Government resolute and not to be frightened, has commenced an operation termed in Stock Exchange language, "banging," i.e., selling the stock as Bears to a heavy amount in order to depreciate the stock. However, we may hope it will cost them heavily in the end. French railway shares are wonderfully high. Flanders and Belgium shares have partaken of the improvement. All description of Canadian railway and land investments are very high—quite a run in this description of investment; Australian Land Companies also better. In the mining market but little doing. United Mexican mining shares have received their *coup de grace*, and are very weak indeed. Cochen have fluctuated a little. Money is very easy, and it is thought that the Bank will be obliged to make a further reduction in the rate of interest before long. At four o'clock the markets close firm. Consols for account 10th of July, 91½ ex div.; Turkish 6 per cent., 82, 82½; Russian Fives 98, 100; Buenos Ayrean, 58, 60.  
Caledonians, 63½, 64; Chester and Holyhead, 141, 154; Eastern Counties, 121, 122; Edinburgh and Glasgow, 59, 61; Great Northern, 98, 99½; ditto, A stock, 77, 79; ditto, B stock, 126, 127; Great Western, 88, 89; Great Southern and Western of Ireland, 98, 100; Lancaster and Carlisle, 75, 80; Lancashire and Yorkshire, 81½, 82; London and North Western, 103½, 104; London and South Western, 84, 85; Midland, 74½, 74; Berwick, 75, 76; Leeds, 131, 141; Yorks, 51½, 52; Oxford, 28, 30; Dovers, 62½, 63; South Devon, 134; Antwerp and Rotterdam, 91, 94; Bombay and Haroda, 21½ pm.; East Indian, 41, 41½; ditto, Extension, 31, 31 pm.;

Eastern of France, 36½, 37½; Grand Trunk of Canada, 51, 53; ditto, Central of France, 41, 41 pm.; Great Luxembourg, 34, 41; Great Western of Canada, 23½, 23½; ditto, Bonds payable (76), 113, 115; Northern of France, 37, 37½; Paris and Lyons, 29½, 29½ pm.; Paris and Orleans, 47, 49; Paris and Rouen, 42, 44; Rouen and Havre, 23½, 24; Sambre and Meuse, 91, 94; Seine, 24, 3 pm.; Western of France, 81, 84 pm.; Agua Fria, 1, 1; Brazilian Imperial, 24, 3; Cochen, 21, 21½; St. John del Rey, 31, 33; Linars, 7, 7½; Pontigibaud, 161, 161; Santiago de Cuba, 51, 61; Peninsular, 1, 1 pm.; United Mexican Bank, 41; Waller, 4, 4; Australasian Bank, 84, 86; London Chartered Bank of Australia, 21, 22; Oriental Bank, 37½, 38½; Union of Australia, 73, 75; Australian Agricultural, 33, 34; Berlin Waterworks, 2, 2½; Canada Land, 119, 121; Canada Government 6 per Cent. Bonds, 114½, 115½; Crystal Palace, 34, 34; General Screw Steam Ship, 151, 154; North British Australasian Land and Loan, 1, 1; Oriental Gas, 4, 4 pm.; Peel Rivers, 21, 21; Scottish Australian Investment, 1, 1 pm.; South Australian Land, 38, 39.

### CORN MARKET.

Mark Lane, Friday Evening, June 8, 1855.  
THE Wheat trade during the week has been slow, the attendance small, but the holders firm.

The supply of Barley is moderate, and prices remain unchanged.

There have been pretty liberal arrivals of Oats, but the demand is not brisk. The arrivals off the coast are not numerous, but in the absence of demand for the Continent few of them have found buyers. Holders of Sals and Belchira are firm at previous rates. A cargo of Beans arrived has been sold at 36s to the United Kingdom.

### BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.

(CLOSING PRICES.)

	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.	Frid.
Bank Stock	208½	208½	210	210	210	210
3 per Cent. Red.	91½	91½	91½	91½	91½	92
3 per Cent. Con. An.	92½	92½	92½	92½	92½	92½
Consols for Acc.	91½	91½	91½	91½	91½	91½
3½ per Cent. An.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New 2½ per Cents.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Long Ans. 1860	41	31½-16	31	31	31½-16	31½-16
India Stock	236	.....	238	236	236	236
Ditto Bonds, £1000	23	25	25	25	25	25
Ditto, under £1000	20	25	25	25	25	25
Ex. Bills, £1000	208	224	224	224	224	188
Ditto, £500	208	224	224	224	224	224
Ditto, Small	208	224	224	224	224	224

### FOREIGN FUNDS.

LAST OFFICIAL QUOTATION DURING THE WEEK ENDING THURSDAY EVENING.

Brazilian Bonds	.....	Russian Bonds, 5 per Cent., 1852	100
Buenos Ayres 6 per Cents.	.....	Russian 4½ per Cents.	.....
Chilian 3 per Cents.	.....	Spanish 3 p. Ct. New Def.	.....
Danish 3 per Cents.	82	Spanish Comm. Int. Cert.	.....
Ecuador Bonds	.....	of Coup. not fun.	.....
Mexican 3 per Cents.	22½	Venezuela 4½ per Cents.	.....
Mexican 3 per Ct. for Acc. June 15	.....	Belgian 4½ per Cents.	.....
Portuguese 5 per Cents.	45	Belgian 4½ per Cents.	94
Portuguese 5 p. Cents.	.....	Dutch 4 per Cent. Certif.	94





# THE THIRD ANNIVERSARY FESTIVAL of the NATIONAL ORPHAN HOME will take place at the STAR AND GARTER, Richmond Hill, on FRIDAY, June 22, when

H. R. H. the Duke of CAMBRIDGE will preside.

## STEWARDS.

The Right Honourable the Earl of Eppingham.

The Right Honourable the Earl of Shaftesbury.

The Right Honourable Lord Berrers.

The Right Honourable the Lord Bishop of St. David's.

The Right Honourable the Lord Dynevor.

The Right Honourable the Lord Justice Knight Bruce.

The Right Honourable Lord Robert Grosvenor, M.P.

The Honourable F. Tollemache.

J. King King, Esq., M.P.

Colonel Kingscote.

Major Pole.

Charles J. Bevan, Esq.

C. T. B. Aldis, M.D.

H. G. Bohn, Esq.

W. Bridges, Esq.

G. Brocklebank, Esq.

G. Brooks, Esq.

The Rev. Joseph Brown, M.A.

The Rev. R. Burgh Byam, M.A.

Peter Cartwright, Esq.

The Rev. Whitmore Carr, M.A.

W. Carter, Esq.

W. Chapman, Esq.

The Rev. J. E. Cox, M.A., F.S.A.

H. Cremer, Esq.

The Rev. G. Townsend Driftfield, M.A.

The Rev. H. Dupuis, M.A.

C. S. Edgeworth, Esq.

George Forbes, Esq.

W. Gilpin, Esq., Treasurer of Christ's Hospital.

Ferdinand Grant, Esq.

J. E. Hadow, Esq.

The Rev. H. J. Hatch, M.A.

The Rev. J. D. Hales, M.A.

H. Harwood Harwood, Esq.

Robt. Wm. Herring, Esq.

Edw. Francis Herring, Esq.

W. W. Hinson, M.A.

J. E. Hobson, Esq.

Edward Hodgson, Esq.

The Ven. Archdeacon Holberton, M.A.

The Rev. Augustus G. How, M.A.

The Rev. T. G. P. Hough, M.A.

The Committee earnestly appeal for help, that they may

submit, if possible, many of the Orphans left at this time by

the War and Pestilence.

All applications for Stewards (the number of which

will be limited) must be made before the 9th of June,

addressed to the Honorary Secretaries, National Orphan

Home, Ham Common; or to the Rev. R. Whittington, M.A.,

Chapter House, St. Paul's Churchyard, by which every in-

formation respecting the Institution will be given, as well

as by the Rev. Joseph Brown, Rector of Christ Church,

Blackfriars-road.

Ten guineas will give two life votes at all elections; five

guineas, one vote.

"Let good digestion wait on appetite,  
Health on both."

**DOCTOR ARNOT'S DIGESTIVE AP-  
ERIENT PILLS.**—These Tonic, Aperient, Vegetable  
Pills are certain, prompt, and invigorating in their action.  
They strike at once at the root of disease, and speedily  
arrest its progress by throwing off the morbid agent, and  
with it all the general and local disturbance to which it  
had given rise. They strengthen the nervous system and  
digestive organs; restore tone to the stomach; stimulate  
the action of a torpid liver and bowels; create a due and  
healthy secretion of bile; relieve the constitution of all  
gouty matter and other impurities; remove flatulency,  
Spasms, Heartburn, Headache, Sickness, Drowsiness, Dim-  
ness of Sight, Rheumatism, Dropsy, Scrofula, Gravel, Erup-  
tions, Ulcers, &c.; including a new and sanitary condition  
of the Blood and Secretions (and as the blood supplies the  
system with its nutriment, and yields those secretions in-  
dispensable to health, so the sanitary condition of the body  
depends on the pure state of this great nurse of life). Thus  
by correcting those crudities of the vital fluids, which con-  
stitute the primary cause of every disease, and by assisting  
Nature in all her requirements, Dr. Arnot's Digestive Ap-  
erient Pills speedily restore the patient to health.

"Dr. Arnot's Digestive Aperient Pills have, by their ex-  
traordinary curative properties, taken the public by surprise.  
They are a safe medicine, and to such as suffer from indige-  
stion, biliousness, constipation, nervousness, gout, scrofula,  
eruptions, ulcers, and all impurities of the blood and secre-  
tions, we strongly recommend them."—*Morning Chronicle*,  
June 8th, 1855.

Sold in boxes at 1s. 14d. each, at the Depot, 50, Rathbone-  
place, Oxford-street, London. Sent free by post for fourteen  
stamps. Agents: Barclay and Sons, 95, Farringdon-street;  
Edwards, 67, St. Paul's Churchyard; Johnston, 68, Corn-  
hill; Newberry, St. Paul's Churchyard; Dietrichsen and  
Co., 68, Oxford-street; Sanger, 150, Oxford-street; Proust,  
25, Strand, &c.—Order of all chemists and dealers in patent  
medicines.

## A CLEAR COMPLEXION.

**GODFREY'S EXTRACT OF ELDER  
FLOWERS** is strongly recommended for softening  
improving, beautifying, and preserving the skin, and giving  
it a blooming and charming appearance, being at once a most  
fragrant perfume and delightful cosmetic. It will completely  
remove skin, sunburn, redness, &c., and by its balsamic and  
healing qualities render the skin soft, pliable, and free from  
dryness, scurf, &c., clear it from every humour, pimple, or  
eruption; and by continuing its use only a short time, the  
complexion will become and continue soft and smooth, and  
shaving it is invaluable, as it annihilates every pimple, and  
all roughness, and will afford great comfort if applied to the  
face during the prevalence of cold easterly winds.  
Sold in Bottles, price 2s. 6d., with Directions for using it,  
by all Medicine Vendors and Perfumers.

# IMPERIAL LIFE INSURANCE COM- PANY, 1, Old Broad-street, London. Instituted 1820.

WILLIAM R. ROBINSON, Esq., Chairman.

HENRY DAVIDSON, Esq., Deputy-Chairman.

The Scale of Premiums adopted by this Office will be

found of a very moderate character, but at the same time

quite adequate to the risk incurred.

Four-fifths, or 80 per cent. of the Profits, are assigned to

Policies every fifth year, and may be applied to increase the

sum insured, to an immediate payment in cash, or to the

reduction and ultimate extinction of future Premiums.

One-third of the Premium on Insurances of 500l. and up-

wards, for the whole term of life, may remain as a debt upon

the Policy, to be paid off at convenience; or the Directors

will lend sums of 50l. and upwards, on the security of Pol-

icies effected with this Company for the whole term of life,

when they have acquired an adequate value.

SECURITY.—Those who effect Insurances with this Com-

pany are protected by its Subscribed Capital of 750,000l., of

which nearly 140,000l. is invested, from the risk incurred by

members of Mutual Societies.

The satisfactory financial condition of the Company, ex-

clusive of the Subscribed and Invested Capital, will be seen

by the following statement:—

At the close of the last Financial Year the sums

Assured, including Bonus added, amounted to £2,500,000

The Premium Fund to more than 800,000

And the Annual Income from the same source, to 100,000

Insurances, without participation in Profits, may be

effected at reduced rates.

SAMUEL INGALL, Actuary.

# RAILWAY ACCIDENT INSURANCE.

10,221l. 5s. have already been paid as compensation for Fatal

and other Railway Accidents, by the

RAILWAY PASSENGERS' ASSURANCE COMPANY.

## EXAMPLES.

1000l. was paid to the Widow of J. G., killed on the 24th

February, 1853, secured by payment of 1l.

350l. was paid to H. C. H. J., who had his leg broken on the

31st Aug., 1853, secured by a payment of 1l.

200l. was paid to W. P., severely injured on the 19th Sep-

tember, 1854, secured by a payment of 1l.

For the convenience of frequent travellers, Periodical

Insurances are granted, which now cover the risk of Fatal

Accidents while travelling in any class carriage on any

Railway in the United Kingdom or on the Continent of

Europe, and insure Compensation for Personal Injury in

any Railway Accident in the United Kingdom only.

To Insure 1000l. at an Annual Premium of 20s.

Doitto 200l. ditto 5s.

Insurances can also be effected securing the same advan-

tages for terms of five or ten years, or for the whole of life,

at greatly reduced rates, which may be learned from the

Company's Prospectus, to be had at the Offices, and at all

the principal Railway Stations.

A new class of insurance has also been established in case

of Death by Railway Accident alone, without compensation

for Injury.

To Insure 1000l. at an Annual Premium of 5s.

Doitto any sum not exceeding 1000l. for the whole of

life by a single payment of 6s. per cent.; thus one

payment of 5l. will secure 1000l.

The Premiums charged include the Stamp Duty, this

being the only Company Insuring against Railway Accidents

empowered by Special Act of Parliament to pay a commuted

Stamp Duty.

WILLIAM J. VIAN,  
Secretary.

Railway Passengers' Assurance Office,  
3, Old Broad-street, London.

# ST. GEORGE ASSURANCE COMPANY,

118, FALMALL, LONDON.

Capital, 100,000l., in Shares of 5l. each. Deposit, 1l. per

Share.

(On which Interest, at the rate of 5l. per cent. per annum,

exclusive of Dividend, is guaranteed by the Deed of Settle-

ment.)

Chairman—Viscount RANELAGH, Park-place, St. James's.

Deputy-Chairman—HENRY POWNALL, Esq., Ladbroke-

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Secretary—W. C. URQUHART, Esq.

POLICIES ABSOLUTELY INDISPENSABLE.

Annuities and Endowments for families, children, and

others on the most favourable terms.

Premiums payable yearly, half-yearly, or quarterly.

No charge for medical fees or stamps.

Loans granted for long or short periods, payable by

monthly, quarterly, or half-yearly instalments.

Defective Titles, Reversions, &c., assured and guaranteed.

# GENERAL INDEMNITY INSURANCE

COMPANY, Cannon-street West.—Capital, 500,000l.,

in Shares of 5l. each; call, 10s. per Share.

Every description of insurance business transacted at this

office. Policies absolutely indispensible. Guarantees afforded

to persons in situations of trust where security is required;

also against losses arising from robberies, forgeries, &c.

Fire and life insurance effected on improved and safe prin-

ciples.—Plate-glass insured.

Prospectuses, terms of agency, proposals, &c., can be had

on application.

J. G. HUGHES, Secretary.

CAUTION.—To Tradesmen, Merchants,

Shippers, Outfitters, &c.—Whereas it has lately come

to my knowledge that some unprincipled person or persons

have, for some time past, been imposing upon the public by

selling to the trade and others a spurious article under the

name of BOND'S PERMANENT MARKING INK, this is to

give notice, that I am the original and sole proprietor

and manufacturer of the said article, and do not employ

any traveller, or authorise any persons to represent them-

selves as coming from my establishment for the purpose of

selling the said ink. This caution is published by me to

prevent further imposition upon the public, and serious

injury to myself. E. R. BOND, sole proprietor and widow of

the late John Bond, 28, Long-lane, West Smithfield.

\* To avoid disappointment from the substitution of

counterfeits, be careful to ask for the genuine Bond's Per-

manent Marking Ink, and further to distinguish it, observe

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